MARIA K. KALLI

THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF PROCOPIUS' GOTHIC WARS

A RECONSTRUCTION OF FAMILY y IN THE LIGHT OF A HITHERTO UNKOWN MANUSCRIPT (ATHOS, LA VRA H-73)

DE GRUYTER

Maria K. Kalli

The Manuscript Tradition of Procopius' Gothic Wars

Beiträge zur Altertumskunde

Herausgegeben von
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Band 205

K · G · Saur München · Leipzig

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Bibliografische Information Der Deutschen Bibliothek

Die Deutsche Bibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über **http://dnb.ddb.de** abrufbar.

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Printed in Germany
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Gedruckt auf alterungsbeständigem Papier.
Gesamtherstellung: Druckhaus „Thomas Müntzer" GmbH, 99947 Bad Langensalza
ISBN 3-598-77817-1

Τοῖς γονεύσιν

Κυριάκῳ καὶ Ἑλένῃ

καὶ

Τοῖς διδασκάλοις πάσιν

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ABSTRACT

The Manuscript Tradition of Procopius' Gothic War: A reconstruction of family y in the light of a hitherto unknown manuscript (Athos, Lavra H-73)

The Introduction, which gives information about the life and work of Procopius and also about previous editions and studies of the text, is followed by Chapter 1 which contains an analytical codicological and palaeological description of codex **Ath**, which was written in the late 13th century and is thus the earliest extant ms of Procopius' *Wars*. Section 2 examines the position of the codex in the stemma codicum, proposed by the latest editor of the text, Jacob Haury, *Procopius Caesariensis Opera Omnia* (Teubner: Leipzig, 1905-12, revised by G.Wirth, 1963). A collation of the text with the principal manuscripts (**K** and **L**) of the two families, **z** and **y**, shows that **Ath** belongs to the **y** family. A further collation of Ath with all other extant manuscripts of this family of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, illustrates the importance of **Ath** in the tradition of the text, despite its minor phonetic, grammatical, syntactical and linguistic errors. Section 3 gives a description and updated information of all manuscripts of family y, which were briefly described by previous editors, and some of them were not examined at all, before their relation is examined and the stemma codicum is revised on the basis of a series of propositions. It is concluded that **Ath** has been the exemplar for some of the later manuscripts, either directly or through intermediaries. The study concludes with a more theoretical chapter, Section 4, which places the production of **Ath** and other manuscripts, containing Procopius' works and other early Byzantine historiographical texts, in the general context of the intellectual milieu of the Palaeologan period.

Die handschriftliche Überlieferung des 'Gothenkrieges' des Prokop: eine Rekonstruktion der y-Gruppe aufgrund einer bisher unbekannten Handschrift (Athos, Lavra H-73)

Die Einleitung gibt eine Übersicht über Leben und Werk des Prokop sowie über Ausgaben und Untersuchungen des Textes. Es folgt eine kodikologische und paläographische Beschreibung der "neuen" Handschrift (Athos, Lavra H-73, = **Ath**). Der zweite Teil untersucht die Stellung dieser Handschrift im Stemma codicum der Teubner-Ausgabe von Jacob Haury (Leipzig 1905-12, revidiert von G.Wirth 1963). Die Kollation des Textes mit den Haupthandschriften (**K** und **L**) der beiden Gruppen **z** und **y** ergibt, dass Ath zur **y**-Gruppe gehört, und die Kollation mit allen übrigen Handschriften dieser Gruppe zeigt den Wert der Handschrift **Ath** für die Geschichte des Textes, ungeachtet ihrer geringfügigen phonetischen, grammatischen, syntaktischen und sprachlichen Fehler. Im dritten Teil werden alle Handschriften der **y**-Gruppe, die frühere Herausgeber nur kurz oder gar nicht beschrieben hatten, genauer vorgestellt und in ihrem Verhältnis zu einander im Stemma untersucht. Daraus ergibt sich, dass **Ath** die Vorlage einiger dieser späten Handschriften war, entweder unmittelbar oder über Zwischenstufen. Der abschließende vierte Teil stellt die Entstehung von **Ath** und anderer Handschriften der historiographischen Werke Prokops und anderer frühbyzantinischer Autoren in den allgemeinen Zusammenhang des intellektuellen Milieus der Palaiologenzeit.

List of Abbreviations

BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*
Byz	*Byzantion*
BMGS	*Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CFHR	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
CH	*Church History*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
ΔIEEE	*Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλαδος*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
GRBS	*Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JÖB	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
PG	ed. J.P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus completes...*, Graecolatina, 161 vols. in 166 pts (Paris, 1857-1891)
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association*

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Introduction

Procopius was born from a wealthy family in the city of Caesarea in Palestine around 500.[1] There he received his early education and proceeded to higher studies in rhetoric and law.[2] In 527, when Justinian I (527-565AD) ascended the imperial throne, Procopius entered the service of general Belisarius as his legal counsellor and secretary (σύμβουλος, *Wars*, ed. Haury, *Proemium*, p. 5, 7-11), and later with the rank of illustrius (ἰλλούστριος).[3] In this capacity Procopius accompanied Belisarius in expeditions to Africa and Italy. His major work, the *Wars* (*De Bellis* / Περὶ πολέμων), is a history of Justinian's wars, which covers the period from 530 until 553.[4] It is important that the greater part of this monumental work remains the only source for these events. Following the classical historiographical tradition modelled on Thucydides, Procopius composed a secular, political history, focused on military events, presented and analysed

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[1] For a general bibliography on Procopius and his text, see *Procopii Caesariensis Opera Omnia* ed. G. Wirth (Leipzig, 1964), p. LXXVII-LXXXVII. After 1964 the most important studies are J.W. Barker, *Justinian and the Later Roman Empire* (Madison, 1966); R. Browning, *Justinian and Theodora* (London, 1971); A. Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (London, 1985); J.A.S. Evans, *Procopius* (New York, 1972). For Procopius and his time, the most important are the collective volumes, A. Cameron, *Continuity and Change in Sixth-Century Byzantium* (London, 1986); P. Allen and E. Jeffreys, *The Sixth Century – End or Beginning?* (Australia, 1996) and the article, E. Patlagean, "A Byzance: ancienne historiographie et histoire sociale", *Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 23 (1968), 106-26.

[2] For Procopius' early education, see J.B. Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian* (London, 1929), vol. 2, p. 420, n. 1; cf. J. Haury, *Zur Beurteilung des Geschichtschreibers Procopius von Caesarea: Programm des K. Wilhelms-Gymnasiums in München für das Schuljahr 1896/7* (Munich, 1896), p. 20. See also Cameron, *Procopius*, pp. 5-8. An interesting article on Procopius' education and career is J. Howard-Johnston, "The Education and Expertise of Procopius", *Antiquité Tardive* 8 (2000), 19-30, which suggests that Procopius may have been "a military architect or engineer by profession" (p. 25).

[3] Cf. Souda, *s.v.* Προκόπιος. Ιλλούστριος was the highest title of Senators in the later Roman Empire. It provided certain privileges, both fiscal and ceremonial. On the office of *illustrius*, see N. Oikonomides, *Les listes des préséances Byzantines au IXe et Xe siècles* (Paris, 1972), pp. 294-295.

[4] General bibliography on the *Wars*: P. Allen, "The Justinianic Plague", *Byz* 48 (1979), 5-20; S. Bocci, *L'Umbria nel Bellum Gothicorum di Procopio* (Rome, 1996); J.B. Bury, "The Nika riot", *JHS* 17 (1897), 92-119; A. Cameron, "The Scepticism of Procopius", *Historia* 15 (1966), 466-82; B. Coulie, *Thesaurus Procopii Caesariensis, De Bellis, Historia Arcana, De Aedificiis* (Turnhout, 2000); G.A. Downey, "Paganism and Christianity in Procopius" *CH* 18 (1949), 89-102; G.A, Downey, "The Persian Campaign in Syria in AD540", *Speculum* 28 (1953), 340-8; J. Moorhead, "Italian Loyalties during Justinian's Gothic War", *Byz* 53 (1983), 575-96; D. Pringle, *The Defenses of Byzantine Africa from Justinian to the Arab Conquest*, British Archaeological reports, 99 (Oxford, 1981).

in the form of cause and effect, with God occasionally replacing Τύχη[5] as a major factor in the shaping of events. Speeches and vivid battle descriptions are arranged chronologically. As Procopius states in his introduction, the records of events he describes are based largely on his own recollections and for the events he was not present he probably takes information from other sources, mostly oral (*Wars*, p. 4, 1 – 5, 17). Most probably a substantial section of the *Wars* was written in the 540s, after Procopius resided in Constantinople.[6] According to the author, the final book of his work (VIII) was completed in the eighteenth year of the Gothic war (which started in AD 536), that is AD 554 (Book VIII, p. 678, 4-5), after the completion of Book VII in AD 550 (Book VII, p. 458, 1-2).

The work consists of eight books. Books I-II (*De bello Persico*) relate Justinian's war against the Persians. Therefore, the text in high literary style was based on a variety of anonymous sources. Books III-IV (*De bello Vandalico*) records the war against the Vandals. In this section of his work, Procopius concentrates on describing the organisation and structure of the Byzantine army giving at the same time the names of generals and officers. The praising of Belisarius' victories in Books I-IV is succeeded by disappointment on account of the defeats of the Byzantine army by the Goths in the war described in Books V-VIII (*De bello Gothico*). Especially Book VII is pervaded by the author's criticism of both Justinian and Belisarius. It seems that during the composition of Book VIII in 554, Procopius reached a stage of bitter disappointment as a result of the increasing political and financial problems in the Empire, emanating from the military defeats.[7] This disappointment is clearly reflected in his *Secret History* (*Historia Arcana* / Ανέκδοτα),[8] which gives a bitterly hostile portrait of the Emperor and his wife Theodora. It is possible that the *Secret History* was composed by Procopius[9] after the completion of *Wars*, Book VII (AD 550),[10] for he

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[5] M.A. Elferink, "Tyché et Dieu chez Procope de Césarée", *Acta Classica* 10 (1967), 111-34.

[6] On this see *Wars*, p. 251, 10-11: ἐς Βυζάντιον ἔνθα καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐπιδημεῖν τηνικαῦτα ξυνέβη and he was there when the plague came in Spring 542 (*Wars* II.22.9).

[7] For Procopius' progressive change of attitude towards Belisarius and Justinian in Book VIII, see Cameron, *Procopius*, pp. 187-206.

[8] *Secret History* has been edited only twice as a single work: the *editio princeps* by N. Alemannus, *Historia Arcana* (Lyons, 1623) with Latin translation and notes, and by M. Kraseninnikov, *Procopii Caesariensis Anecdota quae dicuntur* (Ivrievi, 1899). It was translated into English as a single work by R. Atwater, *Procopius' Secret History* (New York, 1927) (adopted by P. Halshall, *Internet Medieval Source Book* (www.fordham.edu/halshall/basis/procop-anec.html) 1996) and by G.A. Williamson, *Secret History* (Penguin: New York, 1966), as well as into French by P. Maraval, *Histoire Secrète* (Paris, 1990) and in German by O. Veh, *Anekdota* (Munich, 1981).

[9] There had been many scholars who deny Procopius' authorship of *Secret History* (J.B. Bury, *History of the later Roman Empire, 395-800* (London, 1889), vol. 2, pp. 359-64, argues against the authenticity of the work, but later changed his view in *A History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian, 395-565* (London, 1923), pp.

resumes his former negative attitude towards both Justinian and Theodora in the next and final Book VIII.

His third major work, the *Buildings* (*De aedificiis* / *Περὶ κτισμάτων*),[11] written between 553 and 555,[12] is a panegyric for Justinian. In this work Procopius describes public buildings and constructions built by Justinian in various parts of the empire, praising the Emperor's major building policy.

Procopius remains the most important historical source for the reign of Justinian, a period when the Byzantine Empire reached the peak of its power. The influence of Procopius' work, both in content and style, is evident in contemporary and later historians. For example the leading historians, Agathias (530/32-579/82),[13] Evagrius (536-593/4),[14] Menander Protector (c. 550-),[15] Theophylact Simocattes (c.585-),[16] Constantine VII

417-30). Today no one would uphold this opinion, especially in the light of J. Haury's arguments in *Procopiana*, Programm des Kölniglichen Realgymnasiums für das Studienjahr 1890-91, that the work should be dated to 550, on the basis of internal evidence and later in "Zu Prokops Geheimgeschichte", *BZ* 34 (1934), 10-4. The date of this work is also the subject of debate (G. Greatrex, "The date of Procopius' works", *BMGS* 18 (1994), 101-14; R. Scott, "Justinian's coinage and Easter reforms, and the date of the *Secret History*", *BMGS* 11 (1987), 215-21; Howard-Johnston, "Education and Expertise of Procopius", p. 21); J.A.S. Evans, "The Dates of Procopius' Works: A Recapitulation of the Evidence" *GRBS* 37 (1996), 308-10). It is generally agreed that it was published after the death of Justinian.

[10] It belongs to the period immediately after the death of Theodora and after Belisarius' return from the second Italian expedition, when Procopius was most hostile to him.

[11] *Buildings* was never edited as a single work. It was translated into English first by A. Steward, *Of the Buildings of Justinian. By Procopius* (London, 1888) and by H.B. Dewing and G. Downey, *Procopius* (Loeb: London, 1914-40); into German by O. Veh, *De aedificiis* (Darmstadt, 1977). A very important volume on the *Buildings* is C. Roueché – J-M, Carrié – N. Duval, eds., *De Aedificiis: Le Texte de Procope et les réalités*, Actes du Colloque de Londres 25-26 septembre 1998, *Antiquité Tardive* 8 (2000).

[12] For the date of *Buildings*, see Howard-Johnston, "Education and Expertise of Procopius", p. 21 with fn. 14.

[13] *Agathiae Myrinaei Historiarum libri quinque*, ed. R. Keydell, CFHB, 2 (Berlin, 1967), 1.11: τὰ μὲν γὰρ πλεῖστα τῶν κατὰ τοὺς Ἰουστινιανοῦ χρόνους γεγενημένων ἐπειδὴ Προκοπίῳ τῷ ῥήτορι τῷ Καισαρείαθεν ἐς τὸ ακριβὲς ἀναγέγραπται, παριτέον ἐκεῖνα ἔμοιγε ἅτε δὴ ἀποχρώντως εἰρημένα.

[14] *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius*, ed. J. Bidez - L. Parmentier (New York, 1979), IV 12: γέγραπται δὲ Προκοπίῳ τῷ ῥήτορι τὰ κατὰ Βελισάριον συγγράφοντι... Φιλοπονώτατα τοιγαροῦν κομψῶς τε καὶ λογίως ἐκτίθεται τῷ αὐτῷ Προκοπίῳ ἃ δὲ πέπρακται ὑπὸ Βελισαρίῳ στρατηγοῦντι...

[15] *Historici Graeci Minores*, II, Menander Protector, ed. L. Dindorf (Teubner: Leipzig, 1870-1), p. 71,28- 72,6: ὅτι περὶ Προκοπίου τοῦ ἱστορικοῦ καὶ δικηγόρου φησὶν ὁ Μένανδρος. Οὐ γὰρ ἔμοιγε δυνατὸν οὐδέ γε ἄλλως πέφυκε θυμήρες, τοσαύτῃ λόγων ἀκτῖνι τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ θρυαλλίδα ἀνταναισχεῖν.

[16] *Theophylacti Simocattae Historiae*, ed. C. De Boor (Teubner: Stutgard, 1972), II.3.13: ταῦτα Προκοπίῳ τῷ συγγραφεῖ ἐν τῷ πτυκτίῳ τῆς ἱστορίας ἐγγέγραπται.

Porphyrogenitus (913-959),[17] Joannes Zonaras (11th c.),[18] Georgius Cedrenus (11th/12th c.),[19] Michael Glykas (c. 1100-),[20] Joannes Cinnamus (1143-)[21] and Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos (1256-1335)[22] refer to his work, mainly to the *Wars*. In addition, most of the above authors and also Theophanes (c. 760-817)[23] and John of Antioch (7th century)[24] used Procopius' works as sources for their histories.[25]

The earliest printed edition of the *Wars* was published by David Hoeschel, *Historiarum Procopii Libri VIII* (Augsburg, 1607). For his edition of Books I-IV, accompanied by his own marginal annotations, he used codd. *Monac. gr.* 48 (**m**)[26] of the sixteenth century and *Par. gr.* 1700 (**o**) of the seventeenth century, and for Books V-VIII codd. *Monac.* gr. 87 (**n**) of the sixteenth century and *Par. gr.* 1701 (**o**) of the seventeenth century.

Hoeschel's *editio princeps* was preceded by three Latin translations: by Leonardus Aretinus Brutus, *De bello Italico adversus Gothos* (Rome, 1441 and printed 1470), who based his free translation of Books V-VIII on unspecified manuscripts and published it as his own composition; by Christophorus Persona, *Procopius de Bello Gothorum* (Rome, 1481-83 and printed in 1506), who translated Books V-VIII from an unspecified Greek codex that he had borrowed from the Vatican Library;[27] by Raphaellus

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[17] *Excerpta Historica iussu Imp. Constantini Porphyrogenniti confecta*, ed. C. De Boor (Berlin, 1903-10), Book I, Ch.2: οὔτε γὰρ Προκόπιος, οὔτε Ἀγαθίας ... ἐμνημόνευσαν τὸ τοιούτου ὀνόματος.

[18] *Ioannis Zonarae Epitome Historiarum*, ed. L. Dindorf (Teubner: Leipzig, 1868-75), XIV.7: τὸν πατρίκιον Βελισάριον ... πέμπει ... ᾧ καὶ ὁ Καισαρεὺς συμπαρωμάρτει Προκόπιος, ὃς τὰ περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ πολέμων ἱστόρισε πλατυκώτερον.

[19] *Georgios Kedrenos, History*, PG 121 col. 708, § 649: τῷ στ' καὶ ζ' ἔτει τὰ τοῦ Βελισαρίου στρατηγήματα κατὰ Λιβύην ἐγένοντο, ἅτινα Προκόπιος ὁ Καισαρεὺς ἐν ὀκτὼ βιβλίοις συνεγράψατο.

[20] *Michael Glykas, History*, PG 158, col. 505, § 270: Πορφύριος ... μῆκος μὲν πήχεις τριάκοντα, εὖρος δὲ πήχεις δέκα κατὰ τὸν Καισαρέα Προκόπιον.

[21] *John, Cinnamus, History*, PG 133, col. 569, § 217: ῥήξ γὰρ Θευδέριχος καὶ οὐ βασιλεὺς διεβίω καλούμενος, καθάπερ Προκόπιος ἱστορεῖ.

[22] *Nicephorus Callistus, History*, PG 145, col. 241, § 746: ἃ δὴ Προκοπίῳ τῷ Καισαρεῖ κομψῶς μάλα καὶ λογίως ἐγράφη ἐν ταῖς κατ' αὐτὸν ἱστορικαῖς συγγραφαῖς. Τέσσαρα δ' αὐτῷ βιβλία ἀρχαιότητι φράσεως ἐχόμενα συνετέθη. ὧν τὸ μὲν ὠνόμασε Περσικὰ ... τὸ δὲ Γοτθικὰ ... τὸ δὲ κτίσματα προσεπέγραψεν ... τὸ δὲ τέταρτον ἀντίρρησίς ἐστιν...

[23] *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, (Teubner: Leipzig, 1883-5, rp. Hildesheim, 1963).

[24] *Joannis Antiocheni Fragmenta, FHG* IV, 535-622, ed. G. Mueller (Paris, 1878).

[25] Cf. Haury, *Prolegomena*, pp. VII-XXII.

[26] I use the *sigla* of the manuscripts adopted by Haury.

[27] This is not stated in the prolegomena of the translation. Cf. E. Muentz and P. Fabre, *La bibliothèque du Vatican au XVe siècle d'après des documents inedits*, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 48 (Paris, 1887), p. 287: "Ego prior S. Balbine accepi a domino Bartholomeo Aristophilo bibliothecario Procopium historicum ex papyro in nigro cum Catone die XXV octobris 1481. Restituit VI septembris 1483." In the edition of 1506 before

Volaterannus, *Procopius de Bello Persico* (Rome, 1509), who translated Books I-II from unspecified manuscripts or editions; and Hugo Groot (1655) Books III-IV similarly from unspecified manuscripts.

The second two-volume edition, by Claudius Maltretus, *Procopii Caesariensis Historiarum sui temporis libri VIII* (Paris, 1661-63; reprinted in Venice, 1729) included a Latin translation of the entire work. Maltretus based his edition on two earlier manuscripts, codd. *Par. gr.* 1699 (**e**) and 1702 (**P**) of the fourteenth century and the copies of codd. *Vat. gr.* 152 (**V**) and 1690 (**K**) made by Luca Holsten. Maltretus' critical text was adopted in the Bonn edition of Procopius in the *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* series, vol. 10 edited by G. Dindorf in 1833-38 who also used Hoeschel's edition and marginal notes, Maltretus' edition, Volaterannus' and Persona's Latin translations and some corrections and conjectures made in the copy of a *Leidensis* lost codex by Joseph Scaliger.[28]

Dindorf's edition was followed by that of Domenico Comparetti, "La Guerra di Procopio di Cesarea; testo greco emendato sui manoscritti con traduzione Italiana", in *Fonti per la Storia Italiana, Scrittori del secolo VI*, vols 23-25 (Rome, 1895-98). Comparetti based his edition on Dindorf's adding the following extant codices: *Vat. gr.* 1690 (**K**), 152 (**V**) and 1301 (**f**), *Vat. Reg. gr.* 84 (**r**), *Laur. gr.* 69, 8 (**L**) and 9,32 (**l**) *Ambr.* 182 sup. (**a**) and 52-55 sup. (**c**), *Monac. gr.* 87 (**n**) and 513 (**d**). Though Comparetti recorded all variants of these codices, he offered no suggestions as to their relations. This deficiency was cured by Jacob Haury in his critical edition of the complete works of Procopius, *Procopii Caesariensis Opera Omnia*, published in the Teubner Series *Bibliotheca scriptorum graecorum et latinorum*, 4 vols (Leipzig, 1905-13), vol. 1: De bellis libri I-IV, vol. 2: libri V-VIII.

Haury based his edition on the critical text by Comparetti and the study of the manuscript tradition of Books V-VIII and the relationship of the manuscripts by M. Kraseninnikov.[29] Apart from his adoption of a small number of different readings from the Comparetti edition, Haury's main contribution was the construction of a more complete *stemma codicum*, disagreeing with Kraseninnikov that *Laur. gr.* 69.8 (**L**) is far inferior to *Vat. gr.* 1690 (**K**).[30] In addition, the editor provided an *apparatus fontium* that accompanies the text.

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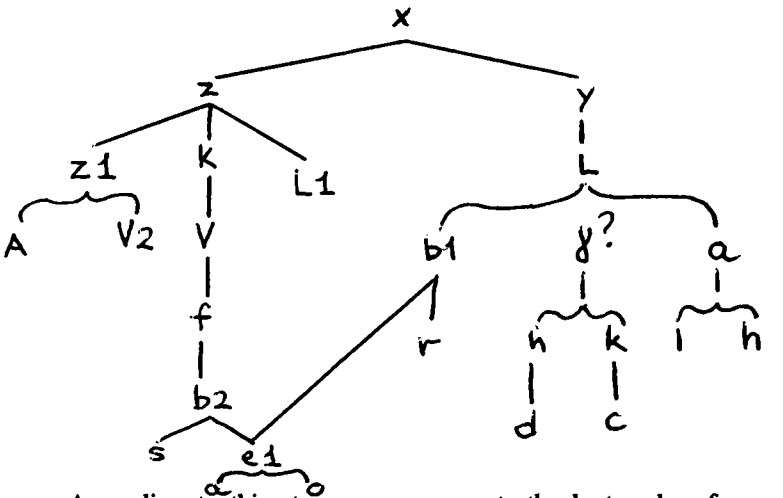
the beginning of the translation it is stated: "Procopius de Bello Gothorum per Christophorum Persona Romanum Priorem S. Balbine traductus".

[28] Cf. W. Senguerdius, *Catalogus librorum tam impressorum quam manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Publicae Universitatis Lungduno-Batavae* (Lyons, 1716), p. 339.

[29] *Comparationes Philologiae* (Petropoli, 1897) and "The critical text of the second tetras of the *Wars* of Procopius of Caesarea", *Vizantijskji Vremennik* 5 (1898), 439-81.

[30] *Prolegomena*, p. LVIII. Cf. p. XXI.

Procopius' *Wars*, Books V-VIII[31] are represented by three principal manuscripts, **K**, **V** and **L**, dated to the fourteenth century. The rest of the extant manuscripts known to Haury dated between the fourteenth and sixteenth century, were included in the *stemma codicum*, though their variant readings are omitted in the *apparatus criticus*.[32] His reconstruction of the *stemma codicum* is as follows:



According to this stemma **x** represents the lost codex, from which two traditions, **z** and **y** emanate. The **z** family is represented by **K** and **V**, and later copies, the fifteenth-century **A**, **b2**, **e1** and the seventeenth-century **α** and **o**, and the **y** family by **L** and the later copies, the fifteenth-century **a**,[33] **b1** and **h** and the sixteenth-century **c**, **k**, **n**, **r**, **d** and **γ**.

Haury's emendation and selection of readings reflect a text composed in pure Attic, free from syntactical and grammatical errors or sixth-century linguistic and stylistic conventions that developed in the course of time.[34] Haury's emendations strictly follow the syntactical and grammatical rules and style of the classical authors, in the process ignoring the text transmitted in some or even all extant codices.[35]

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[31] Books I-IV have different manuscript tradition, see Haury, *Prolegomena*, pp. XXVIII-XL.

[32] Haury states explicitly (*Prolegomena*, p. XXIV) that he does not report all variants from all the manuscripts; he has collated only the manuscripts he lists in capital in his stemma.

[33] Codex **a** is the same with codex **A** (*Ambr.* A182 sup.), which contain different parts of the text of Wars. Haury classifies them in different families. See below, fn. 166.

[34] Cf. H. Braun, *Procopius Caesariensis, quatenus imitatus sit Thucydidem* (Erlangen, 1885); H. Braun, *Die Nachahmung Herodots durch Prokop* (Nürnberg, 1894). Cf. Bibliography cited in A. Cameron's, "Herodotus and Thucydides in Agathias", *BZ* 57 (1964), 33-52.

[35] E.g., Haury always changes the negative construction from οὐδὲ - οὐδὲ and μηδὲ - μηδὲ of all manuscripts to οὔτε - οὔτε and μήτε - μήτε.

In the reprint of the Teubner edition of *Procopius Opera Omnia* by Gerhard Wirth (Teubner: Leipzig, 1962-64), no revision or further contributions to the text were made,[36] and Haury's text remained unaltered with a few exceptions recorded at the end of the volume,[37] together with a number of additions and corrections and suggestions of variant readings to the text by Kallenberg, de Stephani and Wilamowitz.[38] Wirth also examined certain variant readings in relation to excerpts of the text contained in later sources,[39] which may shed light on certain cases where the selection of the variant is doubtful.[40]

Haury's edition of Procopius' *Wars* as part of the complete works accompanied by translations in various languages has been reprinted several times.[41] An English translation of the complete works first appeared in the Loeb Series of classical texts by H.B. Dewing and G. Downey, *Procopius*, vols. 7 (London, 1914-40); vol. 1: *Wars*, Book I-II; vol. 2: Book III-IV; vols 3-5: Books V-VIII,[42] followed by the partial translation of Averil Cameron, *Procopius' Wars Books I-II, V-VIII, Secret History and Buildings* (New York, 1967), pp. 3-136: Books I-II, pp. 137-283: Books V-VIII, in the series The Great Histories, and it is preceded by an introduction on the author and his work.

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[36] In his *Praefatio*, p. LXXIII-LXXV, he states a very small number of *conspectus locorum*, which he has changed in the text.

[37] Wirth, *Procopius Caesariensis*, vol. I, pp. 553-572; vol. II, pp. 679-99.

[38] For full bibliographical details, see Wirth, *Procopius Caesariensis*, pp. 679-80.

[39] (1) *Excerpta de legationibus iussu Imperatoris Constantini Porphyrogenniti confecta*, ed. C. de Boor (Berlin, 1903); (2) *Excerpta de sententiis iussu Imperatoris Constantini Porphyrogenniti confecta*, ed. U. Boissevain (Berlin, 1906); (3) *Photius, Bibliothéque*, ed. R. Henry (Société d'éditions Le Belles Lettres: Paris 1959-1991). It contains *ad verbum* parts of *Wars*, Books I-II; (4) *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler (Berlin, 1928-1935); (5) Some etymological Lexica such as *Lexicon Gudianum - Lexicon Αἰμωδεῖν* (ed. Sturz, 1818 and de Stephani, 1909-20), *Etymologicum Magnum*, ed. Gaisford, 1848, which attest some parts of Procopius' works; (6) Cod. *Monacensis* Latinus 807, which contains brief scholia from Books I-IV in ff. 76-81 (ed. G. Pesenti, "Note Byzantine", *BZ* 24 (1923-24), 14).

[40] E.g. vol. I, p. 8,19: (ξυνδιασώσασθαι) adn: διασώσασθαι mihi probabilius propter διεσώσατο Phot 121B (see Wirth, p. 555); p. 233,2: (ἐσκυλευκότες) nota: cf. EMagn 385,15 and 717,20 (ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐσκαλευκότας), LexAἰμ 624,18 (ἐσκαλευκότες), EGud cod. Barb. I70, Stef 639-640, Stef. Stud 441 (see Wirth p. 564); vol. II, p. 43, 13: (ἔρανον) nota: cf. LexAἰμ 624,29 (ἔρανος), EGud 204,48, Stef Ed 515,7, StefStud 441 (see Wirth, p. 681).

[41] In French: D. Roques, *La guerre contre les Vandales, livres III-IV* (Paris, 1990); in German: O. Veh, *Procopius von Caesarea*, vols. 5 (Munich, 1970): vols. 2-4: Gotenkriege, Perserkriege, Vandalenkrieger; O. Veh, *De bello Gothico* (Munich, 1978); in Romanian: H. Mihaescu, *Procopius din Caesarea, Razboiul cu Gotii* (Bucharest, 1963); in Spanish: F.A.G. Romero, *Historia de las guerras, Procopio de Cesarea, introducción, traducción y notas* (Madrid, 2000).

[42] Although it is stated in the introduction of the edition (p. 13) that "the text followed is that of Haury, issued in the Teubner series, 1905-13", some minor differences in the text can be observed, e.g., V.21.20, 21-22: Haury's text (p. 107): εἰς ἀλλήλους τρυπήματα φαίνεσθαι, Dewing's text (p. 206): εἰς ἄλληλα τρυπήματα φαίνεσθαι.

The addition of an important codex to the extant manuscripts of Procopius' *Wars*, Books V-VIII, preserved in the Athonite Monastery of Lavra, under no. H-73, sheds new light on the manuscript tradition of the text and the relation of the manuscripts. An analytical palaeographical and codicological study of this manuscript (**Ath**) given below will be followed by a palaeographical examination of the text before its position in the *stemma codicum* is examined.

Chapter 1
Description of codex Ath

Ath Athos, Lavra codex H-73 (Eustratiades no. 728)[43]
Late 13th/early14th century;[44] paper; 211 numbered leaves; 250x140 mm.
Brown leather in wooden cover

CONTENTS: The codex contains Procopius' *Wars* Books V-VIII:

1. (ff. 1r – 32v.22) Book V, ed. Haury, pp. 8,4 – 146.
2. (ff. 32v.23 – 105v) Book VI, pp. 150 – 293.
3. (ff. 106r – 184v) Book VII, pp. 297 – 483.
4. (ff. 185r – 210r) Book VIII, pp. 487 – 565,10

COLLATION: The codex consists of unnumbered gatherings.[45] Evidently, the original numbers of the gatherings and the folios have been trimmed after the codex was rebound to fit the new dimensions. This has affected also the marginal scholia (see below, pp. 13-16).

A nineteenth/twentieth-century hand has numbered the extant recto folios in Arabic numerals (the folios following 4 and 69 were corrected from their previous erroneous numbering, 3 and 68 respectively). The lower part (1/3) of f. 11r was left blank by the scribe. Similarly ff. 11v-12r are blank. On f. 11r.20 the text is interrupted; it resumes on a fresh page on f. 12v. On the basis of the text contained in Haury's edition the missing text (V.15.4,14 Βενεβεντὸν καλοῦσιν – 16.10,20 Σαλώνων) between ff. 11r and 12v should cover the blank two and a third pages of the manuscript. Several folios have been affected by worm.[46] Some of them have been repaired by paper glued on the margins, especially the lower part of the page[47] and the outer margin.[48]

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[43] A brief description of the manuscript appears in the catalogue compiled by S. Eustratiades, *Catalogue of Greek Manuscripts of Lavra on Mount Athos* (Athos, 1925), p. 114, no. 728, cod. H-73. Apart from the contents of the manuscript, no other information is given with the exception to the state of the manuscript: δυσανάγνωστος καὶ ἐν μέρει ἐφθαρμένος.

[44] See below, pp. 17-18.

[45] A collation of the gatherings remains to be examined.

[46] E.g., ff. 2, 3, 6, 13, 15, 17, 25, 32, 62, 76, 133, 140, 164.

[47] E.g., ff. 4v, 9v, 29r, 33r, 42r, 69v, 77v, 102v, 170r.

In some cases the repairing paper covers parts or the whole of marginal notes.[49] It seems that these repairs were made both before and after the numbering of the folios, for in some cases numbers are covered by the paper (e.g., ff. 138r and 139r), while in other cases numbers are placed either on the glued paper (e.g. f. 5r) or are squeezed next to it (e.g. f. 106r). In a single case, on f. 84rv, the scribe copied his text avoiding a hole (ca. 1 sq. cm.) on the surface of the paper.[50]

From the text contained in the manuscript, it is evident that the first and last part of the codex was removed at some stage. It is possible that this codex formed part of a multi-volume collection of Procopius' *Wars*, though it is difficult to say whether our codex contained originally a larger part of the work extending beyond Books V-VIII. As regards the missing folios in Books V-VIII, however, more certain calculations can be made. For, given the amount of text copied by six successive scribes on each folio, the missing text should have been contained on ca. 62 folios (124 pages):

Thus, three missing folios (ff. <I^{a-c}>) must have contained the beginning of Book V, 1.1 (p. 4,1) Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν Λιβύῃ – 1.25 (p. 8,4) λαβὼν.

Eleven missing folios following f. 6v (ff. <6^{a-k}>) Book V.5.10 (p. 26,22) ξυμμαχήσειν ὑπέσχοντα – V.11.2 (p. 58,16) καλοῦσιν οἱ.

Three missing folios following f. 10v (ff. <10^{a-c}>), Book V.12.47 (p. 69,18) ἀπήλαυνεν - V.14.16 (p. 78,15) ἔννοιαν ἔχων.

Two missing folios following f. 16v (ff. <16^{a-b}>), Book V.18.43 (p. 96,12) διενυκτέρευσαν – V.20.3 (p. 101,21) ἐνταῦθα φανέντος.

Three missing folios following f. 21v (ff. <21^{a-c}>), Book V.23.20 (p. 116,8) διαφθειρομένους - V.25.8 (p. 124,7) καθίσταντο καὶ.

Approximately, forty missing folios following f. 210v (ff. <210-250>), Book VIII.14.50 (p. 565,10) οἰκοδομήσασθαι - VIII.35.38 (p. 678,5) Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψεν.

HEADINGS: The heading introducing Book V must have been contained in the first part of the codex, which is missing. The end of Book V, on f. 32v.22, is indicated by a *vignette*, the only decoration in the whole codex, followed by the text of Book VI. The heading of the new book (VI) is placed on the top margin of the same folio (32v): Ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῷ τῆς στ΄ ἱστορίας, followed by three monocondyle crosses.[51] The remaining books (VII-VIII) each start on a fresh page. No heading appears for Book VII (f. 106r), though the end of the previous Book VI is indicated by a note (f.

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[48] E.g., ff. 5r, 15r, 49r, 82r, 113r, 133v, 139r, 209v.

[49] E.g., ff. 5r, 14v, 49r, 50r, 80v, 97r, 138r, 139r.

[50] f. 84r, Haury, VI, p. 250,3-4: [8] ξυγχέωσι τὰ πρα[ ]σόμενα, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίους | [9] οἵπερ αὐτῷ Ἰουστι[ ]νιανῷ βασιλεῖ... 84v, Haury, VI, p. 251,2-4: [8] ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικομένους [ ] γερῶν βασιλεὺς | [9] τῶν μεγίστων ἠξίωσεν, [ ] Ἀθανάσιον μὲν ὕπαρχον...

[51] See below, Pl. I.

105v), giving, however, the wrong number: τέλος τῆς πέμπτης ἱστορίας. A note on the top margin of f. 185r introduces Book VIII: [ἱ]στοριῶν [λ]όγος [ὄ]γδοος.

SCRIPT: Six successive anonymous hands have contributed to the copying of the manuscript. The text, in minuscule script mixed with certain capital forms, is placed in all cases in a single column:

Hand A, a clear, calligraphic hand, has copied a large section of the text, using a thin *ductus*: ff. 1r-3v, 4v-21v, 84r-86r, 88r.12-89v, 91r-92v, 93v-96r, 97r.15-100r, 115v-121r, 123v-124r, 128v-155v (25-30 lines per page, and 30-45 letters per line). The letters are of medium size and well-formed. Some of the letters are particularly enlarged (λ, τ, ξ, κ, σ, ο, β, γ, ζ) with close round forms, a characteristic of the style referred to as Blob style or *Fettaugenstil* used at that period.[52] The most characteristic letters of this hand are *rho* with the curly tale ( ), the enlarged *beta* ( ), the elongated and curly *gamma* ( ), ksi ( ), *zeta* ( ) and *phi* ( ), and the open *theta* ( ). Ligatures such as *omega-nu* ( ) and *omicron-nu* ( ), as well as *ypsilon* accompanied by the mark of *diairesis* ( ), though not original, show imagination. Letters joined with *epsilon* forming a ligature are also very characteristic of this hand: *epsilon-iota* ( ), *epsilon-ksi* ( ), *epsilon-pi* ( ), *epsilon-kappa* ( ) and *epsilon-ypsilon* ( ). The scribe made use of a limited number of conventional abbreviations the most frequent being the words (καὶ) ( ), ὠρ(αῖ)ον ( ), γν(ωμικόν) ( ), ση(μείωσαι) ( ) and the ending -ως ( ).

Though, no effort was made by the scribe to divide words, the text is legible. Both rough and smooth breathings, in rounded form, were used consistently (,). Similarly, all accents (acute, grave, circumflex) were used by the scribe consistently. They appear in medium size and in certain cases they are joined to the letters forming a ligature ( ). A *diairesis* sign was used over *iota* and *ypsilon* anywhere in mid-word. The scribe omitted mute *iota*.

Hand B, a rather untidy and untrained hand, has copied a single folio (4r),[53] using medium/large letterforms in a thin *ductus* (19 lines and 39-46 letters per line). It is clear that this scribe attempted to imitate hand A, unsuccessfully, forming particularly enlarged letters: *gamma* ( ), *kappa* ( ), *sigma* ( ), *tau* ( ), *phi* ( ) and *chi* ( ), and *ypsilon* accompanied with the *diairesis* sign ( ), as well as breathings

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[52] See below, Pl. II a-b. Cf. H. Hunger, "Die sogenannte Fettaugenmode in griechischen Handschriften des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts", *Byzantinische Forschungen* 4 (1972), 105-13.

[53] See below, Pl. III a.

( ). The ligatures *epsilon-ypsilon* ( ), ἐπὶ ( ) and the ending –ος ( ) are also very characteristic. In his limited text the scribe uses a single conventional abbreviation, that for (καὶ) ( ). There is no division of words, though the text is legible. All breathings and accents were used consistently. This scribe used similarly both the mark of *diairesis* over *iota* and *ypsilon* anywhere in mid-word, and omitted the mute *iota*.

Hand C, a calligraphic and stylized hand,[54] again similar to hand A, copied ff. 22r-25v.23 (37 lines per page, and 31-36 letters per line). The letters, designed in thin *ductus*, are of small/medium size. Almost all letters appear symmetrical, with the single exception of the letter *phi*, which is slightly enlarged ( ). Characteristic letters of this hand are the elongated *ksi* ( ), and the small *rho* ( ). Some characteristic ligatures: *epsilon-iota* ( ), *epsilon-kappa* ( ) and *sigma-phi* ( ). The abbreviated (καὶ) ( ) is also used. The division of words is clearer than in the previous two hands. A *hyphen* joins words separated by line ends, following the rules of syllabic division. A *diairesis* mark over *iota* and *ypsilon* anywhere in mid-word, and omission of mute *iota* was employed.

The major part of the manuscript was copied by **hand D**, an unattractive and forceful hand, in a thick *ductus*: ff. 25v.23-83r, 100v-115r, 121v-123r, 125r-128r, 156r-211 (22-30 lines per page, and 35-50 letters per line). The letters are of medium/large size. This hand is characterised by the use of enlarged *betas* ( ) and *epsilons* ( ), and the elongated *gammas* ( ), *iotas* ( ), *lambdas* ( ) and *nus* ( ). *Taus*, either standing alone ( ) or forming ligatures with *omicron* ( ) and *alpha* ( ), appear elongated with their tails sloping to the left. Similarly, *nu* and *iota* are sloping to the left. Characteristic ligatures are *epsilon-iota* ( ), *epsilon-nu* ( ), *epsilon-ksi* ( ) and the ending –ως ( ) as well as the preposition ἐπὶ ( ). The most characteristic abbreviation is the ending –ον (or), as well as ὠρ(αἷ)ον (,) and γν(ωμικόν) (,).[55] Word division is not consistent. Words separated at line ends are joined by a *hyphen* placed in the margin of the following line. There is no indication of mute *iota*. Variation in the formation and size of letters is the main characteristic of hand D. At first sight it appears that the text is written by different hands. A more careful collation of the letterforms, abbreviations and ligatures, however, shows that

[54] See below, Pl. III b.
[55] See below, Pl. IV a.

this effect is produced by the different *ductus* used successively by the scribe. Given the length of this section of the text, one assumes that the scribe worked with intervals.[56]

Hand E took over the copying of the text from scribe A at three small sections: ff. 86v-88r.12, 90r-90v, 93r (24-26 lines per page, and 28-32 letters per line). This hand is similar to hand D.[57] The letters, in thick *ductus*, are of medium size, sloping slightly to the left. Certain letters are enlarged: *beta* ( ), *gamma* ( ), *epsilon* ( ), *lambda* ( ), *ksi* ( ) and *phi* ( ). Characteristic ligatures are *epsilon-kappa* ( ) and επι (or). Word division was imposed only in line ends. All breathings, in round form, and accents are used consistently. *Diairesis* over *iota* and *ypsilon* anywhere in mid-word and omission of mute *iota* is employed.

A very small section of the text was copied by **scribe F** (ff. 96v-97r.15), in thin *ductus*. In contrast to the previous hands, this is a rather tidy and attractive one.[58] The letters are of a medium size (26 lines per page, and 33-39 letters per line). Certain letter forms were designed elongated: *lambda* ( ), *rho* ( ) and *ksi* ( ), while *beta* ( ) and *omega* ( ) appear particularly enlarged . This variety adds to the aesthetic appearance of the text. The scribe made extensive use of ligatures, the most characteristic being combination of letters preceded by *epsilon*: *epsilon-iota* ( ), *epsilon-kappa* ( ) and *epsilon-rho* ( ). This hand used a limited number of abbreviations, the most idiosyncratic of which is the ending -ειν ( ). This hand employed the same conventions regarding the *diairesis* sign over *iota* and *ypsilon*, but subscribed the mute *iota* in certain cases. He used consistently all accents and breathings in round form.

A similar punctuation system was followed by all six copyists (A-F), to indicate different degrees of pause: comma (,), middle point (·) and upper point (˙), which are used interchangeably, and full stop (.).[59] A considerable number of spelling mistakes, syntactical and grammatical errors and alterations of word order are observed in all hands (see below, p. 34-121).

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[56] For example, on ff. 109v-112r and ff. 156r onwards, a thinner pen nib was used, while on ff. 43r-51r a softer one.

[57] See below, Pl. IV b.

[58] See below, Pl. IV c.

[59] On Byzantine conventions of punctuation see J. Noret, "Ponctuation et accentuation byzantines", *Byz* 65 (1995), 69-79.

A later **hand, G,** has added two subscriptions on f. 93r in small letters.[60] The first subscription, on the top margin, is illegible, as it has been trimmed. The second, written vertically, facing the outer margin, most probably refers to an as yet unidentified hagiographical text: καὶ τοῦτο ἀπέκειτο τη μοχθηρὰ ..... το βαλ.. θανάτου ἀκούσας τῆς ἀγέλας [ψυχῆς] .....ι ἣν ἐξεδήλωσεν ἀφ' ἡμῶν· ὧ ἐνδήμησεν πρὸς κ(ύριο)ν· πάντα τ(ὸν) βίον μελέτας τοῦτο πεποιημένος εὐ.....ι μετά τῶν ἄλλων, (καὶ) τοῦτο ἀφήρημαι· διὰ τὸ (καὶ) οὖν ἔτι πονηρ(ῶς) ἔχειν τοῦ σώματος (καὶ) λίαν ἐπικινδύνως.

MARGINAL NOTES AND SCHOLIA: The text of the *Wars*, Books V-VIII, is accompanied in its greater part by marginal abbreviated notes to attract the attention of the reader (such as σημείωσαι, γνωμικὸν and ὡραῖον) and scholia to the text. These are placed usually on the outer margin. Books V and VI in particular are full of marginal notes and scholia, while in Books VII and VIII apart from a single extensive marginal scholion on f. 141v (VII.17.20, p. 372,22 – VII.17.24, p. 373,11) the remaining sixty folios containing these books contain only six brief scholia (ff. 150r, 152r, 171r, 172v, 178r, 206v). In certain cases the whole marginal space is covered by notes and scholia.[61] With the exception of hand D, which separates scholia by a horizontal line (e.g., ff. 36r, 38r, 61v), the rest are placed one after the other with no indication of separation. In a single case (f. 49r) a scholion placed in the top margin by hand D, is not entirely legible, due to the fading ink. It is clear, however, that it refers to the text, for part of it reads: σημείωσαι πάντα ταῦτα... τὰς πόλεις ἐξέλιπον (Haury, p. 182,19-21). Most probably, the scholia were added to the margin by each scribe after they completed copying their section of the text from the prototype. This is evident on ff. 45r-50r and 139v-141v, in which the scribes used a different *ductus* for the scholia from the one used for the main text.[62] The only exception is a note on f. 4r, 5-6 where the main text is by hand B, while the scholion was added by hand A: ἀμαλασούνθης ἐπιστολὴ ἰουστινιανῳ. Adequate space was left for the marginal scholia and notes. Usually, their length corresponds to that of the text to which they refer. A number of them are not aligned with the ruling line of the text. In addition, in certain cases, because of the small size of the letter forms, the thin *ductus* and the untidy handwriting, these scholia are not easily legible. It seems, therefore, most probable that the scholia were copied by the scribes from their exemplar, rather than having been introduced individually by them.

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[60] See below, Pl. V.
[61] E.g., ff. 25r, 27r, 30v, 31v, 141v.
[62] See below, Pl. VI a.

Sometimes marginal scholia are introduced by ση(μείωσαι),[63] though in certain cases this abbreviated word is omitted.[64] The same word was added in the margin to attract the readers' attention to certain passages in the text,[65] occasionally followed by τοῦτο, ταῦτα or πάντα.[66] Interestingly, on f. 51r a large calligraphic abbreviated ση(μείωσαι) πάντα was written vertically in large capital letters covering half the page.[67] On f. 69v ση(μείωσαι) was crossed out and rewritten below, which may indicate that the scribe re-read the text from his prototype and restored the misplaced abbreviation. Scholia are also introduced by a four-dotted cross (⁘), which does not refer to a particular point of the main text.[68] Similarly, all copyists added the abbreviated calligraphic words ὠρ(αῖον)[69] (usually in vertical) and / or γν(ωμικὸν)[70] to indicate proverbial phrases[71] and noteworthy passages.[72]

Concerning their content, in most cases the marginal scholia summarize the content of each chapter, without adding new information with reference to persons, events or a general theme. They are rather general and lack uniformity in their use. For example, in some cases they identify persons introduced in the text, while in other cases this is completely omitted. Similarly, the outcome of events is sometimes noted in a summarised form, while this is omitted in other cases. On the basis of their content and use, they can be divided into four groups:

a. To introduce new persons in the text, adding information about their identity.[73]

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[63] In very few cases σημείωσαι is written in full: e.g., ff. 45r, 46r, 49r.
[64] E.g., ff. 24r, 111v, 124r, 139v.
[65] E.g., ff. 22v, 27r, 32r, 39v.
[66] E.g., 23r, 29v, 74r, 75r.
[67] See below, Pl. VI b.
[68] E.g., ff. 25r, 69r, 79r.
[69] E.g., ff. 26v, 29r, 39r, 47r, 87r.
[70] E.g., ff. 26v, 28v, 38v, 87r.
[71] E.g., f. 26v (V.28.7 (p. 135, 15-17): οἷς γὰρ κατὰ νοῦν τὰ παρόντα χωρεῖ, ἐφ' ἕτερον μεταβάλλεσθαι ἀξύμφορον οἶμαι; f. 29r (V.29.12 (p. 141, 9-10): βόσκει γὰρ αὐτῶν τὴν παρρησίαν τὸ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν εὐτύχημα; f. 38v (VI.3.17 (p. 162, 4-5): πάντων γὰρ εἰκότως ἀνιαρότατος εἶναι δοκεῖ μηκυνόμενος τοῖς οὐκ εὖ φερομένοις ὁ βίος; f. 47r (VI.6.29 (p. 178, 17-19): τοὺς γὰρ εὐεργεσίας ἢ χάριτός τινος ἄρξαντες τοῖς ἴσοις ἀμείβεσθαι ἄξιον. To our knowledge, these proverbs are unique; cf. *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*, ed. E.L. Leutsch – F.G. Schneidewin, (Hildesheim, 1958) and *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. For thirteenth-century annotated collections of proverbs, see George of Cyprus, PG 142, cols. 445-70, and Maximos Planudes, ed. by E. Kurtz, *Die Sprichwörtersammlung des Maximus Planudes* (Leipzig, 1886). These lists may have served mainly teaching purposes.
[72] E.g., f. 87r (VI.23.30 (p. 256, 4-10): τῷ γὰρ ὑπερβάλλοντι τὰ ἀγαθὰ πάντα πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἀεὶ τρέπεσθαι εἴωθεν. ὑμεῖς οὖν μὴ τῷ φιλονείκῳ τὸ λοιπὸν σφάλλεσθε. φεύγειν γὰρ δή που τὸν κακουργοῦντα οὐδεμία αἰσχύνη. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐς κακὸν προὔπτον ἀνεπισκέπτως ἰὼν καὶ σωθεὶς ἐνθένδε, ἂν οὕτω τύχῃ, ἄνοιαν ὀφλισκάνει.
[73] E.g., f. 61v (VI.14.14 (p. 208, 2): Βελισαρίου δορυφόρος ἕτερος δὲ Μασσαγέτης γένος.

b. Titles at the beginning of speeches or letters, quoted in the text.[74]
c. Summarised descriptions of events.[75]
d. To indicate qualities of generals and leaders, which are demonstrated in the course of events.[76] It is important that this last group of scholia, which reveal a critical approach, are contained only in our manuscript.

Two scholia with reference to Thucydides' method and style would suggest familiarity with the text of the *Peloponnesian War*,[77] reflecting at the same time an interest in Attic phrases,[78] in the general context of *mimesis* of classical authors by Byzantine writers.[79] A scholion on f. 73r is most revealing with regard to the scribe's appreciation of the text: ὡραῖα ταῦτα τοῦ προκοπίου. ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ χρήσιμα.[80]

CORRECTIONS, ADDITIONS AND ERRORS: Interlinear and a few marginal corrections appear throughout the manuscript by the same hands who copied the text. Therefore, as in the case of the marginal scholia, most probably these additional variants may have been contained in the lost prototype. Most of them are superscribed corrections (without deleting the erroneous letters).[81] In a single case a preposition omitted was added above the line.[82]

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[74] E.g., f. 80r (VI.21.13 (p. 242, 19): ἐπιστολὴ Μαρτίνου πρὸς Βελισάριον; f. 80v (VI.21.17 (p. 243, 11): ἐπιστολὴ Βελισαρίου πρὸς Ναρσὴν.

[75] E.g., f. 8v (V.11.29 (p. 63, 3-6): ὅτι Φράγγοι Γερμανοὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἦσαν; f. 20v (V.23.22 (p. 112, 10-13): ἀποχώρησις γότθων; f. 32v (VI.1.4 (p. 150, 9): καὶ τὰ περὶ Κωνσταντιανοῦ καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ οὔνων; f. 34v (VI.1.27 (p. 153, 19): τὰ περὶ Χορσομάντιδος καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ τελευτῆς); f. 29v (V.29.16 (p. 141, 23-24): ὅτι οὐίτιγις καὶ βελισάριος ὄπισθεν τῶν στρατευμάτων ὑπήρχον ἑκάτερος ἐκγελευόμενος τοὺς αὐτοῦ.

[76] E.g., f. 16r (V.18.37 (p. 95, 9-11): πρόνοια στρατηγοῦ; f. 35r (VI.2.1 (p. 155, 1): πρόνοια καὶ ἐπίνοια ἅμα Βελισαρίου σὺν τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστον; f. 36r (VI.2.14 (p. 156, 8): ὅτι Ρωμαῖοι ὑπερείχον ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ συμπλοκῇ.

[77] See below, Pl. VII a - b. f. 39v: Θουκυδίδου τὸ εἶδος τοῦτο τῆς φράσεως for the phrase: VI.3.25 (p.163, 12): πόλεμος γὰρ οὐκ ἐξ ἀλογίστου σπουδῆς κατορθοῦσθαι φιλεῖ, ἀλλ' εὐβουλίᾳ δὲ καὶ προμηθείᾳ τὴν τῶν καιρῶν ἀεὶ σταθμώμενος ῥοπὴν and f. 43^{v}: Θουκυδίδου τὸ ἔθος, for the original text VI.5.8 (p. 171, 17): ταύτης τῆς πύλης νύκτωρ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν περιελὼν, οὐδενὶ τῶν πάντων προειρημένον, τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἡτοίμαζεν

[78] These phrases do not appear in the text of the *Peloponnesian War*.

[79] Cf. H. Hunger, "On the Imitation (mimesis) of Antiquity in Byzantine Literature", *DOP* 23/24 (1969/70), 16-38.

[80] See below, Pl. VII c. Cf. below, p. 167.

[81] f. 2r.8: ξυμφέρον sscr. -ει; f. 3r.21: διατρίβειν sscr. -οι; f. 15v.23: ἐκπεσὼν sscr. εμ-; f. 33r.22: πολλοῖς, sscr. -α; f. 36v.11: λαβομένος sscr. -ου; f. 47v.1: ἀνεχώρησαν sscr -π-; f. 50r.19: μέσον sscr. –η; f. 51r.25: πείσεσθαι sscr. -θ-; f. 57r.2: ἔρριπτον sscr. -ουν; f. 84v.4: μέλλει sscr. -η (see below, Pl. VIII b); f. 87v.1: ἀνδραγαθίζεται sscr. -η-; f. 115r.6: ἀν(θρώπ)ους sscr. -ων; f. 140v.18: ποιήσειν sscr. -ούσης (see below, Pl. VIII a); f. 141v.25: πεζοὺς sscr. -ηι; f. 145r.13: ὑπαντιάσει sscr. -η; f. 482v.10: νόμον sscr. κόσ-; f. 186r.23: ἀπαίροντες sscr. ἀπάραντες; f. 208r.19: χόροι sscr. -ῶ-.

In addition, superscribed variants appear joined by the particle ἤ.[83] In certain cases the particle ἤ precedes corrected words placed in the margin.[84]

Deletion of words is marked either by dots encircling the erroneous word or letter/s,[85] or by simply crossing out.[86] Omitted words were occasionally added in the margin.[87]

The text of **Ath** is full of minor errors as well as unique readings, which are analysed and discussed below (see pp. 37-130). It seems that the prototype contained most of these errors, as similar mistakes appear in all six hands (A-F) that copied the manuscript **Ath**. The following list indicates the most important of these errors against Haury's text:[88]

(1) Spelling errors due to confusion of sounds:

(a) Iotacism (affecting η, ι, υ, ει, οι, ηι, and υι): thus, ἐπείθοντο for ἐπΰθοντο (f. 10v, p. 68,12); ὠθησμῷ for ὠθισμῷ (f. 14v, p. 91,16); μυρὸν for μηρὸν (f. 36v, p. 157,16); προσεδρίαν for προσεδρείαν (f. 54r, p. 193,20 and f. 56r, p. 197,14).

(b) Confusion of ε and αι: thus, κατέρειν for καταίρειν (f. 24r, p. 129,26); ἐφέναιτο for ἐφαίνετο (f. 29v, p. 142,5).

(c) Confusion of ο and ω: thus, ὡτι for ὅτι (f. 25v, p. 133,24); πόπωτε for πώποτε (f. 46r, p. 176,23); κατορρωδηκότες for κατωρρωδηκότες (f. 94r, p. 270,19); λελοφηκέναι for λελωφηκέναι (f. 159v, p. 411,4); ἰσχυρώτατα for ἰσχυρότατα (f. 176v, p. 461,4).

(2) Alteration of word order: thus, ἀπολείψεσθαι τῆς ξυμβολῆς for τῆς ξυμβολῆς ἀπολείψεσθαι (f. 38v, p. 161,14); ὅπως φυλασσομένῳ for φυλασσομένῳ ὅπως (f. 69v, p. 223,16); ἐδόκει ταῦτα for ταῦτα ἐδόκει (f. 86v, p. 255,11).

(3) Additions

(a) of articles to specify the subject (ξὺν *τοῖς* ἄλλοις τισί, (f. 21v, p. 116,5).

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[82] f. 19r.16: τυχὼν sscr. ἐπὶ (see below, Pl. XVIII c).

[83] f. 115r.11: διαβαίνοντας sscr. -ες ἢ διαβάντας; f. 119v.1: ἀντικαθισταμένου sscr. ἢ ἀντιστατούντος (see below, Pl. VIII d); f. 124v.26: ὑπαντιάσασι sscr. ἢ σαντες; f. 132v.9: ἐλθὼν sscr. ἢ ἥκων.

[84] f. 55r.17: αἴτιος in marg. ἢ αἰτιώτατος; f. 140v.18: τρυφεροτέραν in marg. τρυφερωτάτην (see below, Pl. VIII a).

[85] f. 77r.20: εἰς; f. 87r.12: λεπτοῦ (see below, Pl. IX a); f. 189r.24: χωρίων.

[86] f. 15r.24 – 15v.17: οὕτω τε διαφυγόντες ... τὰ πράγματα διεσώσατο repeated by scribe A, due to *homoioteleuton*. Cf. f. 20^{v}.27-28: τὸν ἀπόστολον ... τοῦτον δὲ τὸν is repeated but is not crossed out by the scribe. F. 135v.12: crossed out ζημίας without replacing it with the correct word πόλεως (contained in the remaining manuscripts) (see below, Pl. IX b); f. 137v.2: deleted ἕκαστος without giving the corrected word; f. 151v.8: repeated and then crossed out ἐγνώκατε.

[87] F. 101v.5: πρὸς βασιλέως (see below, Pl. IX c) and f. 174r.23: τὰ παρόντα.

[88] Erroneous words and rejected variants are placed first.

(b) of particles and prepositions (ξένων *τε* καὶ φίλων, (f. 123r, p. 334,19); *ἐν* ὁμολογίᾳ παρέδοσαν, (f. 96r, p. 274,2).
(c) due to *lapsus calami* (ὀχυρωμάτων *ὀπίσω* τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπολελειμμένων ὀπίσω πολλῶν, (f. 195r, p. 517,23).
(d) due to interpolation (τίτανον *κονία ἄσβεστος καταχρηστικῶς δὲ καὶ γύψος*, (f. 156v, p. 402,15).

(4) Omissions of words and phrases: thus, om. ἐπενόει τάδε (f. 94v, p. 270, 15); om. δόντες (f. 99v, p. 281,4); om. τὰ πρότερα (f. 106v, p. 299,9); om. προσέσχε (f. 162v, p. 420,18); om. οὐδὲν μέντοι (f. 163v, p. 423,17).
(5) Errors in foreign names: thus, Περσίδιος for Πρεσίδιος (f. 50v, p. 186, 7 and 9); ἀρταβασίῳ for Ταρβησίῳ (f. 110v; p. 306,21).
(6) Attractions: thus δέει τῷ Θευδερίχῳ for Θευδερίχου (f. 9v, p. 66,16).
(7) Errors which may be due to misunderstanding of abbreviations: thus, ἐνθάδε for ἐνθένδε (f. 13v, p. 88,8); ἔδοξαν for ἔδοξεν (f. 83v, p. 248,19).
(8) Haplographies / dittographies: thus, τήνδε δε for τήνδε (f. 46r, p. 176,12).
(9) Errors due to misunderstanding of meaning: thus, αὐτοὺς for αὐτὸν (f. 20v, p. 110,16); ἰόντος for ἰόντι (f. 24r, p. 129,15).
(10) Change, additions and omissions of prepositions: thus, προσλαμβανόντες for προλαμβάνοντες (f. 22r, p. 124,17-18); κινδυνεύειν for διακινδυνεύειν (f. 26r, p. 134,23); ἔπλησσε for ἐξέπλησσε (f. 35v, p. 156,8).
(12) Change of particles: μὲν for οὖν (f. 130r, p. 350,18).
(13) Possible misreadings / visual copying errors; ἐντὸς for ἐκτὸς (f. 98r, p. 277,21); τύχην for ψυχὴν (f. 167r, p. 433,8); βαρυτάτην for βαθυτάτην (f. 197r, p. 523,19).

DATE AND PROVENANCE

Eustratiades attributed the manuscript to the fourteenth century, without providing evidence for this assumption.[89] In the absence of a colophon and further internal indications, we have to rely on codicological and palaeographical evidence for the dating of the codex. On stylistic grounds of the script, it has been suggested that the manuscript belongs to the late thirteenth century, rather than the fourteenth.[90] A collation of the script with other similar hands points to the same conclusion.[91] This remains to be confirmed by an examination of any watermarks in the codex.

According to the *ex libris*, added by a thirteenth-fifteenth-century hand on the top margin of f. 1r, the manuscript was owned at some stage by an unidentified *hegoumenos* Athanasios: βιβλίον τῶν καθηγουμένου ὁσίου π(ατρ)ὸς ἡμ(ῶν) Ἀθανασίου.[92] In the absence of any information on Athanasios[93] or any other detail on its provenance it is impossible to say whether this manuscript was copied on Mount Athos, and in particular in the monastery of Lavra, which was a major centre of copying activity at the time.[94] Similarly, it is difficult to say whether it was copied by monks or

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[89] See above fn. 43.

[90] I would like to thank Mr. Nigel Wilson, who kindly examined specimens of the manuscript and confirmed my original late thirteenth-century dating, on the basis of scribal habits (e.g. *beta-gamma script*, i.e. Blob style or *Fettaugenmode*); cf. N. G. Wilson, "The investigation of the scribal habits", in *I manuscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito: atti del v colloquio internazionale di paleografia greca (Cremona, 4-10 ottoble 1998)*, ed. G. Prato (Florence, 2000), p. 686; N. G. Wilson, "Nicean and Palaeologan Hands: Introduction to a Discussion" in *La paléographie greque et byzantine*, Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 559 (Paris, 1977), p. 263-267 (cf. A. Turyn's response in the same volume, p. 266).

[91] Cf. specimens in A. Turyn, *Codices graeci Vaticani saeculis XIII et XIV* (Vatican, 1964): Pl. 30 cod. *Borg. gr.* 18 (1273 AD); Pl. 33 cod. *Vat. gr.* 690 (1279 AD); Pl. 62 cod. *Vat. gr.* 191 (c. 1296 AD); A. Turyn, *Dated Greek manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the libraries of Italy* (Urbana, 1972): Pl. 17 *Plut.* 32, 16 (1280 AD); Pl. 28 *Marc.* VII, 12, written by hieromonk Sabas (1283 AD); Pl. 65 *Ambr.* C.126 inf. (c 1294-95 AD); Pl. 73 *Marc.* 481 written by an amanuensis of Planudes (1299 AD); A. Turyn, *Dated Greek manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the libraries of Great Britain* (Washington, 1980): Pl. 12 *Bodl. Roe* 7 written by the monk Galaktion (1278-79 AD); Pl. 24 *Bodl. Roe* 13 written on Mount Galesion (1284-85 AD); Pl. 42 *Nat. Lib. of Scotland Adv.* 18.7.15 written by an amanuensis of Planudes (c. 1290); E. Gamillscheg, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten, 800-1600* (Vienna, 1981): II Taf. 53 *Paris.* 2993 written by George of Cyprus (c. 1275/1300 AD); II Taf. 95 *Paris. Coisl.* 104 (c.1250-1300 AD); II Taf. 227 *Par.* 1715 written by Mokios Taranes (1289 AD); III Taf. 123 *Vat.* 1345 (c.1275-1300 AD); III Taf. 253 *Vat. Reg.* 31 (1281-82 AD).

[92] See below, Pl. XX.

[93] No information on Athanasios, *hegoumenos* in any of the Athonite monasteries is mentioned in E. Trapp, *Prosopographisches Lexicon der Palaiologenzeit* (Vienna, 1976-1996).

[94] N. Oikonomides, "Mount Athos, Levels of literacy", *DOP* 42 (1988), 167-78 refers to the Mount Athos as a center of copying, as well as about the fact that the monks were not as illiterate as usually assumed.

laymen scholars. The collection of manuscripts of the Lavra Monastery comprises a number of secular texts, though whether these manuscripts were copied there, it is impossible to say at this stage.[95] The style of the script itself cannot provide conclusive evidence as to the place of its production. For, due to the mobility of scholars and scribes, similar hands appear in different parts of the Empire in the same period.[96] In addition, there was considerable movement of manuscripts in the Empire.[97] It is difficult, therefore, to identify the place of production of our manuscript with Mount Athos, Constantinople, or Thessaloniki, the main centres of cultural and copying activity at the time, or indeed elsewhere. All palaeographical evidence suggests, however, that codex **Ath** was produced most probably as a private copy, rather than a textbook for general use.

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[95] Codd. H-99 (754), Thucydides, *History*; K-109 (1396) Isocrates, Hesiod, Homer and Aristophanes; Ω-23 (1833) Isocrates, Libanius and Plutarch: see Eustratiades, *Manuscripts of Lavra*, pp. 116, 238-39, 328.

[96] Cf. J. Irigoin "Essai de bilan et perspectives d' avenir" in *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio, Atti del seminario di Erice (18-25 Settembre 1988)*, eds. G. Cavallo, G. de Gregorio, M. Maniaci, vol. II, (Spoleto, 1991) 171-179; E. Gamillscheg "Probleme der Lokalisierung von Handschriftengruppen" in *I manuscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito: atti del v colloquio internazionale di paleografia greca (Cremona, 4-10 ottoble 1998)*, ed. G. Prato (Florence, 2000), pp. 689-93. I would like to express my thanks to Prof. E. Gamillscheg, who drew my attention to several scholars and scribes who were active in this period in various parts of the Empire: Gamillscheg, *Repertorium*: II 28 (Anthimos Nomikopoulos), II 99 (George of Cyprus), II 403 (Mokios Taranes), III 512 (Nikolaos Perdikares).

[97] N.G. Wilson, "The Libraries of the Byzantine world", *GRBS* 8 (1967), 55-80, p. 68. See also below, pp. 139-156.

Chapter 2
A study of the text in codex Ath

POSITION OF CODEX Ath IN THE *STEMMA CODICUM*

A late thirteenth-century dating of **Ath** places this codex in a prominent position in the manuscript tradition of Procopius' *Wars* Books V-VIII; for, it is earlier than or contemporary with the principal manuscript **L** (*Laurentianus* 69.8), which is dated in the fourteenth century.[98] **Ath** seems to be contemporary with the second earlier manuscript **K** (*Vaticanus gr.* 1690), which was dated more recently to the thirteenth century,[99] and with the fourteenth-century codex **V** (*Vaticanus gr.* 152).[100] On the basis of Haury's classification of manuscripts in two families, **z** and **y**, it is important to establish the position of **Ath** in the *stemma codicum* on the basis of a collation of the text in **Ath** with the principal manuscripts of the two families, **K** and **L** respectively.

A collation between the readings, which affect the phonology and morphology of the text, shows a close relationship between **Ath** and **L**. They are mainly spelling mistakes in proper names, phonetic / orthographic mistakes and errors possibly due to misreading:

1)	V.1.27 (p.8, 16)	ἀνδρείας **L, Ath** Suid. : ἀνδρίας **V**
2)	V.5.3 (p.25, 18)	Ἰνοκέντιος **L, Ath** : Ἰννοκέντιος **V**
3)	V.18.12 (p. 91, 14)	εἶναι **L, Ath** : οἶμαι **K**
4)	V.27.15 (p. 132, 8)	διαλάσσον **L, Ath** : διαλλάσσον **K**
5)	VI.29.8 (p. 283, 16)	πολλοῖς **L, Ath** : πολλοὺς **K**
6)	VI.30.5 (p. 289, 22)	ἄτυχον **L, Ath**, ἀτύχως **K**

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[98] See the description of the codex in A.M., Bandini, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae* (Leipzig, 1961), cols 627-28.

[99] Description of the codex in P. Canart, *Codices Vaticani Graeci (codices 1684-1744)*, (Vatican, 1961), pp. 9-10; Haury dated **K** to the fourteenth century, *Prolegomena* p. XLIII-XLIV.

[100] There is a description of the codex in I. Mercati – P. F. De Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani Graeci* (Rome, 1923), vol. 1, pp. 174-175. This codex contains parts of the text, which are directly derived from **K**, at a time when that was complete.

7) VII.5.1 (p. 318, 5) φλωρεντίαν **L, Ath** : φλορεντίαν **K**
8) VII.15.9 (p. 361, 20) ἔτι **L, Ath** : ὅτι **K**
9) VII.25.19 (p. 411, 1) δυνήσησθε **L, Ath** : δυνήσεσθαι **K**
10) VIII.5.8 (p. 504, 14) ἐπισπέσθαι **L, Ath** : ἐπεισπέσθαι **K**
11) VIII.13.22 (p. 556, 11) εἶησαν **L, Ath** : ἦεσαν **K**
12) VIII.13.25 (p. 556, 20) μάλα **L, Ath** : μᾶλλον **K**

The above readings consist of errors, which are due to confusion of sounds (*parechesis*), and orthographical variations, both of which are very common among Byzantine scribes.[101] In this sense, such variants are not of great importance, though there are some readings of this kind, such as the ones listed below, which are common in **K** and **Ath** against **L**:

1) V.12.37 (p. 68, 18) μέλησιν **L** : μέλλησιν **K, Ath**
2) V.26.1 (p. 127, 21) ῥαβένναν **L** : ῥαβέναν **K, Ath**
3) V.26.14 (p. 129, 20) ἔκτειναν **L** : ἔκτεινον **K, Ath**
4) V.27.2 (p. 130, 13) σκλαβηνοὶ **L** : σκλαβινοὶ **K, Ath**
5) V.28.15 (p. 136, 15) αὐρηλίας **L** : αὐριλίας **K, Ath**
6) V.29.31 (p. 143, 23) τοῖς **L** : τῆς **K, Ath**
7) V.29.42 (p. 145, 17) οὐδέτερον **L** : οὐδ' ἕτερον **K, Ath**
8) V.29.46 (p. 146, 1) ξυνεισβάλλωσιν **L** : ξυμβάλλουσιν **K, Ath**
9) VI.20.16 (p. 238, 17) ἐπιπολῆς **L** : ἐπιπολλῆς **K, Ath**
10) VIII.3.19 (p. 499, 21) εὐνούχων **K, Ath** : εὐνούχον **L**
11) VIII.14.32 (p. 562, 11) ἀπὸ ταὐτομάτου **K, Ath** : ἀπ αὐταυτομάτου **L**

Variations in vocabulary, on the other hand, offer a more stable basis for the establishment of the relation of the manuscripts. A collation of variant readings, changes, additions, omissions, deletions and transpositions of words introduced in **Ath** and **L**, show a close relationship. The following list of **Ath** and **L** (against **K** and **V**) demonstrates this clearly:

1) V.1.25 (p. 8, 5) ἐπὶ θοίνην καλέσας **L, Ath** : καλέσας ἐπὶ θοίνην **V**
2) V.1.33 (p. 9, 19) πικροτάτους **L, Ath** : πονηροτάτους **V**
3) V.1.36 (p. 10, 5) τοῦ τέρατος τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι **L, Ath** : τοῦ τέρατος **V**
4) V. 2.16 (p. 12, 12) om. **L, Ath** : ὁ πατὴρ **V**
5) V.2.28 (p. 14, 23) ἔστελλε **L, Ath** : ἔπεμπε **V**

[101] For these conventions in Medieval Greek, see R. Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek* (London, 1969), pp. 32-33; G. Horrocks, *Greek, a History of the Language and its Speakers* (London, 1997), pp. 102ff.

6) V.4.5 (p. 20, 18) ἐπίστασθαι **L, Ath** : ἐξεπίστασθαι **V**
7) V.4.22 (p. 23, 20) καὶ γότθοις ἅπασι φανερὰ **L, Ath** : φανερὰ καὶ Γότθοις ἅπασι **V**
8) V.5.10 (p. 26, 20) φιλοτιμησάμενος **L, Ath** : δωρησάμενος **V**
9) V.11.24 (p. 61, 26) ἄμεινον **K** : ἀμήχανον **L, Ath**
10) V.12.35 (p. 68, 13) ἠρέμουν **V** : ἔμενον **L, Ath**
11) V.29.15 (p. 141, 20) γὲ ὄντι **K** : τοῦτο **L, Ath**
12) VI. 2.13 (p. 156, 8) ἐξέπλησσε **K**, ἔπλησσε **Ath**, ἔπλησε **L**
13) VI.19.20 (p. 235, 21) ἀποτυχὼν **K** : ἀποτυχὼν αὐτοῦ μὲν **L, Ath**
14) VI.22.15 (p. 249, 14) γεγένηται **K** : γεγένηται αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἕω βασιλεῦσι **L, Ath**
15) VI.29.31 (p. 287, 6) ξυνέσει **K** : ἢ ἀνδρεία ἢ πληθύι **L, Ath**
16) VII.10.20 (p. 339, 22) αὐτῶν γινομένης **K** : αὐτοὺς διακεκριμένοι **L, Ath**
17) VII.19.26 (p. 382, 24) ἄλλους τέ τινας **L, Ath** : om. **K**
18) VII.21.21 (p. 393, 17 σιωπᾶν ἔγνωκα **K** : καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἔγνωκας **L**, τὸ πᾶν ἔγνωκας **Ath**
19) VII.23.11 (p. 400, 25) ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ἐχώρησεν **L, Ath** : om. **K**
20) VIII.3.16 (p. 499, 9) ἔκτεινον **L, Ath** : ἔθυον **K**

In addition to these similarities in vocabulary and word order, it appears that **Ath** and **L** share the same syntactical construction (usually incorrect form of the verb) of the text, against **K** and **V**. In the following examples **L** and **Ath** preserve inferior syntactical tradition to that of **K** and **V**:

1) V.2.21 (p.13,19): φυλάξουσιν **L, Ath** : φυλάξωσιν **V**: τῷ δὲ λόγω ἐστέλλοντο, ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν χώραν <u>φυλάξωσιν</u> ἐκ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδου.
2) V.2.22 (p.13,24): ἣν **L, Ath** : οὖσα **V**: ἅπερ οὐκέτι φέρειν ἡ γυνῆ οἵα τε <u>οὖσα</u> ἐπενόει τάδε.
3) V.3.24 (p.18, 17): ὑπουργεῖν **L, Ath** : ὑπουργῶν **V**: ὑπουργῶν φαίνοιτο.
4) VI.8.8 (p. 187,14): ἀφέλωνται **K** : ἀφέληταί τις **L, Ath**: ...ἵνα ἐπειδάν τις τοὺς βαρβάρων ἱκέτης ἐς αὐτοὺς ἵκοιτο, οἵδε <u>ἀφέλωνται</u> βίᾳ ὅσα ἂν τύχῃ ἐν χερσὶν ἔχων.
5) VI.8.14 (p. 188, 13): πάθοι **K** : παθεῖν **L, Ath**: ἀλλὰ Κωνσταντίνος τεθνήξεσθαι παραυτίκα οἰόμενος δρᾶσαί τι μέγα, πρὶν τι αὐτὸς <u>πάθοι</u>, ἐβούλετο.

6) VI.10.3 (p. 193, 1-2): δὲ ἀφῖκτο **K** : οὖν ἀφίκοντο **L, Ath**: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφῖκτο ἐς Αὔξιμον πόλιν, Γότθων μὲν ἐνταῦθα φρουρὰν οὐκ ἀξιόχρεών τινα ἔμαθεν εἶναι.
7) VII.35.1 (p. 453,6): ἰσχύσας **V** : ἴσχυσεν **L, Ath**: Βελισάριος ... οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἦει ... γῆς μὲν τῆς Ἰταλῶν πενταετὲς οὐδαμῇ ἀποβὰς, οὐδὲ πη ὁδῷ ἰέναι ἐνταῦθα ἰσχύσας... ἐχόμενος ... ναυτιλλόμενος.
8) VII.36.9 (p. 459, 20): ἥκωσι **V** : ἵκονται **L, Ath**: ...ἐπειδὰν δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου ἄγχιστα ἥκωσι...

It appears, therefore, that **Ath** belongs to the same family with **L**, family **y**, rather than to family **z** (with **K** and **V**). Although **Ath** and **L** are closely related, **L** is not an apograph from **Ath**, as they do not share absolutely similar text. A further collation of **Ath** with all codices of family **y** (except **d**)[102] indicates that it contains unique readings (with a single exception),[103] which confirm emendations introduced by Haury and earlier editors and scholars, and offers new defensible readings. On the other hand, **Ath** also contains a large number of minor errors and variants, mostly due to parecheses, iotacisms, the euphonic *-ν*, double or single consonants, additions or omissions of words and phrases. When these errors are common in the manuscripts copied from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century, this is indicated in each case. The errors are grouped under the following categories:

1. Confirmation of editors' emendations
2. New defensible readings
3. Frequent errors and obvious slips of the pen (*lapsus calami*)
    3.1. Double / Single consonants
    3.2. Parecheses
        3.2.1. ο / ω
        3.2.2. ε / αι
        3.2.3. General parecheses
    3.3. Iotacisms (ι / η / ει/ οι)
    3.4. Omission / addition of the euphonic *-ν*
    3.5. σὺν / ξὺν

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[102] I have not been able to examine codex *Monac. gr.* 513 of the end of the sixteenth century, as the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek informed me that as this manuscript is very tightly bound and the writing goes right up to the binding fold, it is not possible to photograph it. See I. Hardt, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bauaricae*, vol. 5 (Munich, 1812) pp. 261-62; B. Flusin, "La tradition manuscrite du *De Aedificiis*", *Antiquité Tardive* 8 (2000) 10: "copié en partie par C. Labbaeus".

[103] See below 1.1.c, p. 26: V. 17.17 (p. 85, 6).

3.6. εἰς / ἐς
3.7. Slips of the pen (*lapsus calami*)
3.8. Inversion of the order of words
3.9. Additions of words and phrases
    3.9.1. Article to specify the subject
    3.9.2. Particles
    3.9.3. Prepositions
    3.9.4. Interpolation / Glosses
3.10. Omissions of words and phrases
    3.10.1. Omissions, which affect the syntax
    3.10.2. Omissions, which do not affect the syntax
3.11. Errors in proper and foreign names
3.12. Attractions
3.13. Errors due to possible misunderstanding of abbreviations and ligatures
3.14. Haplographies / Dittographies
3.15. Possible misunderstanding of meaning
3.16. Possible misunderstanding of syntax (incorrect form of the verb)
3.17. Vocabulary
    3.17.1. Possible misreadings or visual errors
    3.17.2. Prepositions
    3.17.3. Particles
    3.17.4. Ordinary / familiar words
    3.17.5. Interpolation / Glosses
3.18. Various other errors

1. CONFIRMATIONS OF EDITORS' EMENDATIONS / CORRECTIONS

1.1. Spelling and other minor mistakes

1.1.a) V. 4.18 (p. 23,2): καὶ Ἀμαλασούνθῃ ξυγγενόμενον λάθρα ξυμπάσης **πέρι** (**Ath** and edd.: περὶ rell.) τῆς Ἰταλίας διοικήσασθαι. **Ath** confirms an editorial correction. All other manuscripts transmit the wrong accent. In **Ath** the preposition περὶ because of the anastrophe appears correctly as πέρι. But the fact that the preposition is between the adjective and the noun ξυμπάσης πέρι τῆς Ἰταλίας may have confused the other scribes.

1.1.b) V. 14.16 (p. 78,17-20): ... (Ῥώμη) διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπιθαλάσσιος εἶναι, καὶ τείχους περιβαλλομένη τοσοῦτόν τι χρῆμα, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν πεδίῳ κειμένη **ἐς ἄγαν** (**Ath** and edd.: ἐσάγαν rell.) ὑπτίῳ τοῖς ἐπιοῦσιν εὐέφοδος, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἔστιν. **Ath** transmits the correct reading, while all other manuscripts transmit ἐσάγαν, an arguable Byzantine convention of using together a preposition with an adverb.[104]

1.1.c) V. 17.17 (p. 89, 5-7): ἦλθον δὲ αὐτοῖς αὐτόμολοι δύο καὶ **εἴκοσι** (**Ath**, **c**, **k** and edd.: εἴκοσιν rell.), βάρβαροι μὲν γένος, στρατιῶται δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι... Some of the scribes perhaps are confused by the resemblance of the ending of the numeral εἴκοσι to the ending of the dative, or most possibly they just add a final *-ν* to the word, which is very frequent in manuscripts. It is interesting that manuscripts **k** and **c** of the sixteenth century also transmit the word without the final ν, like **Ath**.

1.1.d) VI. 2.6 (p. 155, 10-11): **ᾖδει** (**Ath** and edd.: ᾔδη rell.) γὰρ Εὐθάλιόν τε καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐς νύκτα ἀφίξεσθαι. **Ath** confirms the editors' conjecture. The mistake in all other manuscripts is possibly due to iotacism.

1.1.e) VI. 11.8 (p. 197, 15-16): τοιαύτῃ μὲν γνώμῃ Βελισάριος τοῖς ἀμφὶ Μαρτῖνόν τε καὶ Ἰλδίγερα ταῦτα **ἐπήγγελλεν** (**Ath** and edd.: ἐπήγγελλων **δ**, ἐπήγγελεν rell.). The scribe of **Ath** doubles the λ in almost all types of the verb ἀγγέλλω. In this case **Ath** transmits the verb with double λ, perhaps not because he was aware of the correct spelling, but because he frequently does so. All manuscripts copied later transmit ἐπήγγελεν, except for **δ**, which transmits the wrong reading ἐπήγγελλων. The participle of **δ** is not suitable, because it leaves the sentence without a finite verb.

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[104] See parallel cases in 3.3.d, pp. 46.

1.1.f) VI. 22.22 (p. 250, 19-21): ... ἄνδρας παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης σταλήσεσθαι ὑποσχόμενος, οἵπερ ἐς Γότθους τὰς σπονδὰς θήσονται, ὅπη ἂν ἑκατέροις ξυνοίσειν **μέλλῃ** (edd., μέλλει sed sscr. μέλλῃ **Ath,** με$^{\lambda\lambda}$ **K,** μέλλει **L**). **L** and **Ath** transmit the wrong mood of the verb; **Ath** corrects to subjunctive, which is the correct syntax: "in whatever way it would benefit both sides". So, the correction of **Ath** by the same hand as the text is in conformity with the editors' emendation; later manuscripts transmit the ending –ει.

1.1.g) VII. 4.17 (p. 315, 18-20): καὶ μὴν καὶ **τῷ** (**Ath** and edd. : τὸ rell.) ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐς αὐτοὺς δέει εὐέλπιδας ἂν ἡμᾶς ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα γίνεσθαι πρέποι. The article defines the dative δέει. All manuscripts, except for Ath, make a phonetic mistake.

1.1.h) VII. 5 (p. 321, 22-23): **Βριττίους** (**Ath** and Haury : Βρυττίους Dind., βριτίους rell.) μὲν καὶ Λευκανοὺς παρεστήσατο... The reading of **Ath** confirms Haury's emendation.[105] This may not be the accidental duplication of a consonant between vowels. Errors in proper names are very frequent in manuscripts, because the scribes are unfamiliar with their foreign etymology; it would have been impossible for the scribe of **Ath** himself to correct the reading; the correct reading possibly existed in the exemplar.

1.1.i) VII. 6.12 (p. 322, 24-323, 1): ἦν γὰρ πολεμίων ἔργων οὐδαμῶς ἔμπειρος καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ **δειλός** (**Ath** and edd. : δηλὸς rell.) τε καὶ μελλητὴς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα. The iotacism is the cause of the error in all other manuscripts; however, it is not possible to say whether the reading in **Ath** was an accidental phonetic change or if it existed in his exemplar. **Ath** contains several spelling errors due to iotacism.[106]

1.1.j) VII. 8.20 (p. 331, 20-22): σκέψασθε γὰρ· **ἦν** (**Ath** and Haury : ἦν rell., ὅσον ἦν Hoesch. and Dind., ὡς ἦν Maltr., sed neque ὅσον neque ὡς licet addere, cf. lib. VII cap. 34,10) ἡμῖν κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου στρατιωτῶν μὲν πλῆθος δόξῃ τε καὶ τῇ ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους ἐμπειρίᾳ λαμπρὸν... The reading of all manuscripts, except for **Ath,** is the conditional ἦν. This is wrong, because the sentence cannot be conditional; the dative ἡμῖν, which follows immediately, needs the verb ἦν. The scribes were possibly confused by the fact that

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[105] See W. Pape-G. E. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (Braunschweig, 1884), *s.v.* Βριττία.

[106] See below, 3.3.

the verb is placed at the beginning of the sentence, which is normal for a conditional. The reading of **Ath** confirms the emendation of Haury.

1.1.k) VII. 26.23 (p. 416, 4): ...'**Ερούλων** (**Ath** and edd.: ἐρούλλων rell.). Although most times **Ath** transmit this name with double λ between vowels, in this case the word is transmitted correctly, confirming the emendation of the editors. This example suggests that **Ath** transmits the correct word possibly accidentally.

1.1.l) VII. 35.21 (p. 456, 12-14): καὶ ὃς **μελλήσει** (**Ath** and edd.: μελήσει rell.) οὐδεμιᾷ ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις καὶ Γηπαίδων τισὶν ἐθελουσίοις ἐς Σκλαβηνοὺς αὖθις ἀφίκετο. All manuscripts transmit the wrong spelling with a single λ between vowels (noun μέλησις instead of μέλλησις), while **Ath**, possibly accidentally due to its general tendency to duplicate λs between vowels, confirms the editors' emendation.

1.1.m) VIII. 11.21 (p. 538, 9): **ἀποκεκριμένης** (**Ath** and Braun : ἀποκεκρυμένης rell.). An iotacistic error, which appearch in all other manuscripts, perhaps due to confusion with another verb (possibly κρύπτειν).

1.1.n) VIII. 9.21 (p. 528, 21-22): ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῶν Τραχέων ὡς **ἀγχοτάτω** (**Ath** and edd.: ἀγχωτάτω rell.) ἐγένοντο... This is a phonetic error by all other manuscripts except **Ath**.

1.1.o) VIII. 10.4 (p. 531, 11-13): καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Μῆδοι οὐ Λαζικὴν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ 'Αψιλίαν ἔχεσθαι **τότε πρὸς αὐτῶν** (**Ath** and edd. : τότε πρὸς αὐτὸν **K**, πρὸς αὐτῶν τότε **L**) ᾤοντο. **Ath** confirms the emendation of the editors, which is certainly the correct reading. **L** just changes the word order and **K** makes a phonetic error.

1.1.p) VIII. 10.14 (p. 533, 9): **ἐκεχειρία** (**Ath** and edd.: ἐκκεχειρία **K**, ἐγκεχειρία **L**). **Ath** transmits the word correctly against other manuscripts. The same in 11.10 (p. 536, 4).

1.1.q) VIII. 11.30 (p. 540, 6-7): ...κατὰ μέσην τὴν μηχανὴν ἀλύσεσιν **ἀναρτήσαντες** (**Ath** and edd.: ἀρτήσαντες **K**, ἀναρτύσαντες **L**) χαλαραῖς τισιν... **L** has a phonetic error and **K** transmits a wrong reading without the preposition. **Ath** must have copied correctly from the exemplar.

1.2. Omissions and Additions

1.2.a) VII. 16.1 (p. 362, 22-363, 1): ἐτύγχανε γὰρ πολύν τινα χρόνον διὰ τοῦτο ἐν Σικελίᾳ **<δια>τριβὴν** (**Ath** and Braun: τριβὴν rell.) ἔχων. **Ath** only transmits the correct reading, which confirmed Braun's emendation. I assume that the scribe of **Ath** did not correct the reading himself, but he found it like this in his exemplar. The correct reading is that of all other manuscripts in 15.9 (p. 361, 19-21): Τότε καὶ Βιγίλιος, ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀρχιερεὺς, ἐν Σικελίᾳ **διατριβὴν** (τριβὴν **Ath**) ἔχων ναῦς ὅτι πλείστας σίτου ἐμπλησάμενος ἔπεμψεν... The phrases τριβὴν ἔχειν and διατριβήν ἔχειν have the same meaning: "spend a lot of time". The phrase τριβὴν ἔχειν is never used by Procopius.

1.2.b) VII. 24.24 (p. 405, 18-21): φθάσαντες δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ εὐτολμότατοι τό τε σημεῖον ἁρπάζουσι καὶ **τοῦ** (**Ath** and edd.: om. rell) νεκροῦ χεῖρα τὴν λαιὰν ἀποτεμόντες ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἔλαβον. **Ath** is the only manuscript that transmits the article, which is absolutely necessary here, because the dead soldier has to be defined with the use of an article, as he has been mentioned in the previous sentence.

1.3. Syntax and Grammar

1.3.a) V. 3.7 (p. 16,1-4): ἀνθρώπῳ γὰρ οὐδὲ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς οἶμαι καταληπτὰ, μή τί γε δὴ τὰ εἰς θεοῦ φύσιν ἥκοντα. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἀκινδύνως σεσιωπήσθω μόνῳ **τῷ** (Maltr., **Ath** : τὸ **rell.**) μὴ ἀπιστεῖσθαι τὰ τετιμημένα. The reading of **Ath** confirms the correction made by Maltretus, who made the first complete edition of Procopius in 1661-63. The infinitive preceded by an article was common in later Greek and in Koine, especially in inscriptions. The neuter article in the nominative plus the infinitive is the most common. Not all scribes realised that the syntax here needed the article in the dative. **Ath** seems to be the only manuscript, which preserved the original reading, or the scribe of **Ath** may actually have made the correction, perhaps due to a "lucky" attraction from μόνῳ.

1.3.b) V. 4.2 (p. 20,3-7): διὸ δὴ ἐς τὰς ἐυθύνας **καλέσασα** (**Ath** and Hoesch. : καλέσας rell.) Θευδάτον ἡ γυνὴ διαρρήδην τε πρὸς τῶν διαβαλόντων ἐληλεγμένον ἀποτιννύναι πάντα ἠνάγκασεν, ἅπερ οὐ δέον ἀφείλετο, οὕτω τε αὐτὸν ἀπεπέμψατο. **Ath** confirms the correction made by Hoeschel, in the *editio princeps* of 1607. The reading of all other manuscripts is definitely wrong, as the participle refers to ἡ γυνὴ. Perhaps the unusual structure/order, participle, object, subject: καλέσασα Θεύδατον ἡ γυνὴ, may have led to the scribes' confusion.

1.3.c) V. 18.31 (p. 94, 9-11): Οὐίσανδον Βανδαλάριον ἔτι ἔμπνουν εὑρίσκουσι, καὶ **αὐτὸν** (**Ath** and Hoesch. : αὐτῶν rell.) τῶν τις ἑταίρων φωνήν τινά οἱ ἀφεῖναι ἠξίου. The reading of **Ath** confirms the conjecture of the *editio princeps*. The demonstrative pronoun refers to the immediately preceding person who is mentioned, Οὐίσανδον Βανδαλάριον. The scribes of all other manuscripts may have been confused by the following partitive genitive and thought that the demonstrative pronoun refers to it (attraction). Also confusing for the scribes is the fact that the subject τίς is situated between the article and the ἑταίρων. The scribe of **Ath** may have realised the error and emended it, or possibly he copied his exemplar, which had the correct version.

1.3.d) VII. 13.5 (p. 350, 12-14): ...οὐκέτι δυναμένους τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν εἰσκομίζεσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἐκ θαλάσσης **ἀποκεκλεισμένων φορτίων** (**L** and Haury: ἀποκεκλεισμένων **K**, ἀποκεκλεισμένους φορτίων **Ath** and edd.). This is the text and the *apparatus criticus* as displayed by Haury. The participle ἀποκεκλεισμένους is parallel with οὐκέτι δυναμένους: "the Romans were no longer able to... having been cut off from the goods from the sea". Both **L** and Haury must have taken the participle as genitive absolute and the word φορτίων as its object. **Ath** is the only manuscript, which confirms editors' emendation, which I believe is the correct reading, as a parallel to δυναμένους and having as object the genitive φορτίων.

1.3.e) VII. 36.20 (p. 461, 14-16): Τῇ δὲ ἐπιγενομένῃ ἐβουλεύσαντο μὲν σιτίζεσθαι τῶν ἵππων τισὶν, ὄκνησις δὲ αὐτοὺς τῷ τῆς ἐδωδῆς οὐ ξυνειθισμένῳ **διεκρούσατο** (**Ath** and Maltr.: διεκρούσαντο rell.) μέχρι ἐς δείλην ὀψίαν, καίπερ πιεζομένους τῷ λιμῷ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα. **Ath** confirms Maltretus' emendation. The verb should be in singular, because its subject is the singular ὄκνησις. The plural might be due to attraction from the previous verb (ἐβουλεύσαντο).

1.3.f) VIII. 7.4 (p. 516, 14-16): ...ξυστήσεσθαί τε ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐπ ' αὐτὸν ἔμελλον καὶ **διαχρήσεσθαι** (**Ath** and Maltr. : διαχρήσασθαι rell.) θανάτῳ οἰκτίστῳ... **Ath** confirms Maltretus' emendation, who goes against the reading of all other manuscripts. The future infinitive is necessary, firstly because it depends on the verb ἔμελλον, and secondly to co-ordinate with the previous infinitive ξυστήσεσθαι (future) as they are connected with καί.

1.3.g) VIII. 11.13 (p. 536, 19-21): ...ἧς δὴ ἑκατέρωθεν ἐπὶ πέτρας τινὸς σκληράς τε καὶ ἀμηχάνου τοῦ περιβόλου τὰ θεμέλια **ἐτεκτήναντο** (**Ath** and Christ : ἐτεκτήνατο rell.). But at VIII. 14.5 (p. 558, 10-11) **Ath** gives the wrong spelling: οἱ δὲ τὰ ἐπαγγελλόμενα ἐποίουν. κριούς τε αὐτίκα συχνοὺς **ἐτεκτήναντο** (ἐτεκτήνατο **Ath**). In both cases the plural is needed since both subjects (Ῥωμαίοι and οἱ δέ) are in plural.

1.3.h) VIII. 12.31 (p. 551, 23-26): ἡνίκα μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥώμης φυλακτηρίῳ ἐτέτακτο, ἐλπίδα Ῥωμαῖοι πολλὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἶχον ἅτε **ἀνδρειοτάτῳ** (**Ath** and Braun : ἀνδρειότατα rell.) διαγεγονότι τὰ πρότερον. **Ath** agrees with Braun's emendation while all other manuscripts give the adverb. I believe that in this case the adverbial form is the correct one (= he behaved most courageously) rather than the adjective. The reading of **Ath** is the *lectio facilior* as an attraction from αὐτῷ. In this case, however, **Ath** confirms a wrong emendation by Braun.

1.3.i) VIII. 14.35 (p. 563, 1-3): Χοσρόης ...τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκείνῃ πύργου ἀμυνομένους ἅτε κατὰ κορυφὴν συχνὰ βαλλομένους τὴν πόλιν **αἱρήσει** (**Ath** and Hoesch. : αἱρήσειν rell.). **Ath** confirms the emendation of the *editio princeps*. The use of the infinitive is not justified, because no verb, which needs an infinitive, precedes. The subject of the verb (Χοσρόης) is mentioned seven lines above.

1.4. Vocabulary

1.4.a) VII. 24.32 (p. 407, 6-7): τό τε ἐν **Τιβούρει** (**Ath** and edd.: τῇ βου ρ` **K**, τιβέριδι **L**) φρούριον ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι σθένει παντὶ ἔγνωσαν. Both the attempt of **K** to transmit an etymologically "correct" reading and the attempt of **L** to transmit a frequently used proper name, fail. **Ath** is the only manuscript to transmit the correct reading and at the same time it confirms the editor's emendation. The correct reading has likely been found in the exemplar.

1.4.b) VIII. 11.14 (p. 537, 1-2): ...διώρυσσον ὁμοίως, οὐκ **ἐφιείσης** (**Ath** and Suda : ἀφιείσης **K**, ἐνδιδούσης **L**) τῆς τοῦ χωρίου φύσεως σφίσι περαιτέρω ἰέναι... This is one of the few cases where **Ath** confirms Suda's reading. This is most probably the correct reading, which is against **K** and **L**, though ἀφίημι with the sense of "permit, allow" occurs also in Herodotus.[107] **Ath** tends to change prepositions

[107] E.g., Hdt. 3.25; 6.62: ἀφίημι τινὰ ἀποπλέειν.

frequently, but perhaps here the correct reading derives from his exemplar.

2. NEW DEFENSIBLE READINGS

In the following cases, the readings of **Ath** may be accepted as the best suitable in each case in accordance with the general usage of Procopius. **Ath**, as we have seen above, preserves some readings, which confirm emendations of editors, even though they go against all other manuscripts. It is therefore appropriate to examine some other readings of **Ath**, in an effort to determine whether these may have derived from an exemplar, which reflected the original reading.

2.1. Spelling and other minor mistakes

2.1.a) V. 4.15 (p. 22,10-14): ἄνδρας ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς Λιβέριόν τε καὶ Ὀπιλίωνα στείλας σὺν ἑτέροις τισί, παραιτεῖσθαι πάσῃ δυνάμει βασιλέα **ἐπήγγελλεν**, (**K** : ἐπήγγειλλεν **L, a, b, n, δ, r** ἐπήγγειλεν **Ath, c, k, γ**) ἰσχυριζομένους μηδὲν πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄχαρι τῇ Ἀμαλασοῦνθῃ ξυμβῆναι... The reading of **L** is definitely wrong; the correct form may be that of **Ath**. All verbs in the surrounding context are in the aorist and the use of the imperfect is not suitable here. There is a possibility that the reading ἐπήγγελλεν in all other manuscripts comes from a previous scribal error of doubling the λ (a common mistake) to ἐπήγγειλλεν, which appears in **L**. It is important that later manuscripts of the **γ** family support **Ath**'s transmission, **c**, **n** and **δ** transmit the same reading with **Ath**. This means that **Ath** and these later manuscripts are related.

2.1.b) VI. 6.22 (p. 177, 19-21): ... καὶ ὅσα λῃσάμενοι τετυχήκατε." **καὶ ὁ** (**K** : om. **Ath**, ὁ **L**) Βελισάριος "Ἡ μὲν ὑπόσχεσις ὑμῶν βραχέα... From 6.4 (p. 174) a dialogue between Belisarius and barbarians starts. The first speech begins with "... ἐπεμψαν ... Ῥωμαῖον ἄνδρα ... ὃς παρὰ Βελισάριον ἐλθὼν ἔλεξε τοιάδε" Then Belisarius answers. Each manuscript has a different variant and the manuscripts do not introduce with any word the six other times they speak (6.30 ff): at p. 178, 9 **K** has οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, while **L** and **Ath** have nothing; at p. 178, 14 **K** has καὶ ὁ Βελισάριος, omitted in **L** (οἱ γότθοι added in margin) and **Ath** omits it agreeing with **L**. After that none of the manuscripts name the speaker. I believe that the omission of the article by **Ath** in this case is correct. This would suggest that once the persons of the dialogue have been introduced for the first time (barbarians, p. 174, 21-23 and Belisarius, p. 177, 20), there is no need to

repeat their names. However, all later manuscripts, unlike **Ath**, place the names of the speakers in the margin.

2.2. Inversion of words

2.2.a) V. 23.1 (p. 112, 23-26): ἐς μέντοι πύλην τὴν ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Τίβεριν, ἣ Παγκρατιανὴ καλεῖται, δύναμις τῶν πολεμίων ἐλθοῦσα οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ **ἄξιον λόγου** (λόγου ἄξιον **Ath**) ἔδρασε, χωρίου ἰσχυι. The reading of **Ath** should be preferred as this is always the way Procopius employs the expression. The only instance he uses ἄξιον λόγου is when he qualifies it with πολλοῦ: πολλοῦ ἄξιον λόγου (*Build.* III.4.5 (p. 91, 14). In all other cases λόγου ἄξιον appears, e.g., III.3.4 (p. 319, 4-6): Ὀνωρίου ζῶντος οὐδὲν οὔτε εἰπεῖν λόγου ἄξιον οὔτε πρᾶξαι ἰσχύσας; VIII.22.20 (p. 603, 1-2): ὁ μὲν οὖν Ναρσῆς στράτευμά τε λόγου ἄξιον... κεκομισμένος ἐστέλλετο.

2.2.b) VI. 7.12 (p. 181, 20-22): ἐπεὶ δὲ τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ πολλάκις ἀναπλεύσαντες ἅπαντα **κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἐσεκομίσαντο τὰ φορτία** (τὰ φορτία κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἐσεκομίσαντο **Ath**), οἱ μὲν ναῦται... I believe that the change of the order of the words in **Ath** is closer to Procopius' usual style (see 7.3, p. 180,8-9: τά τε φορτία πέμπειν ἐκέλευε. In addition, the adjective ἅπαντα is used with nouns by Procopius: e.g. I.4.20 (p. 18, 7): ἅπαντα τὸν λόγον; IV.4.34 (p. 437, 14-15): ἅπαντα τὸν βασιλικὸν πλοῦτον. Therefore, ἅπαντα τὰ φορτία would be possible.

2.3. Syntax and Grammar

2.3.a) V. 11.17 (p. 60,26-61,2): καὶ μὴν καὶ πρὸς Φράγγων ἔθνη οὐχ **ἧσσω** (Dind : ἧσσον **KL**, ἥσσονα **Ath** and Scaliger) τοῦδε πόλεμον διαφέρομεν, ὃν δὴ οὐκ εὖ διαθεμένους ἐφ' ἕτερον χωρεῖν πολλὴ ἄνοια. In **Ath** the uncontracted comparative of the adjective ὀλίγος appears. It is certain that the reading ἧσσον (neuter) that is transmitted by **K** and **L**, is wrong. As the adjective qualifies the word πόλεμον it must be an accusative masculine (διαφέρομεν οὐχ ἥσσονα πόλεμον τοῦδε = we carry a war not inferior to this one). Uncontracted comparatives had begun to fall out of use and thus were a frequent source of scribal confusion as can be seen in the Roman and Byzantine papyri.[108] If so, as the noun to which the adjective refers ends in -ον, it

[108] e.g. ἀγέρον for ἀγήρων acc. sg. masc. POxy.1871.2 (late 5th cent.), Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri*, vol. II, p. 125.

was easy for the scribes of **K** and **L**, probably unaware of the uncontracted ending, to write ἧσσον.[109]

Dindorf emended to ἥσσω which is syntactically and grammatically correct. But Scaliger had corrected the adjective to ἥσσονα which is the alternative form to the one Dindorf suggested. Procopius generally seems to use both forms of the comparative, either -ω or -ονα.[110] From the palaeographical point of view, Scaliger's correction is more plausible, because it was easier for the scribes to change ἥσσονα to ἧσσον than ἥσσω to ἧσσον. This is now confirmed by **Ath**, which presents the correct form of the adjective ἥσσονα.

Confusion over the same comparative appears in V.1.29 (p.9, 3): ἦν τε ὁ Θευδέριχος λόγῳ μὲν τύραννος, ἔργῳ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀληθὴς τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ τιμῇ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ηὐδοκιμηκότων οὐδενὸς ἧσσον (**L, Ath** : ἥσσων **V**, *Suda*), this is a similar confusion as the one above, although it might be a simple confusion of o and ω. Codex **V** and *Suda* do not understand that an adverb is necessary and not an adjective that characterises Theoderic.[111]

2.3.b) VII. 14.18 (p. 356, 9-11): καὶ ὃς οὐκ ἀπηξίου τὰ ὄντα **[λέγειν] καταλέγειν** (Haury : λέγειν καταλέγει **K**, καὶ λέγειν. καταλέγειν τε **L**, λέγειν καὶ καταλέγει Christ, λέγειν καταλέγειν τε **Ath**) ξὺν τῷ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντα... As regards the context, the verb λέγειν is not unsuitable: the author possibly wanted to emphasise that "not only he said (λέγειν) but he stated in detail (καταλέγειν)". I believe that the correct phrase here is λέγειν τε καὶ καταλέγειν, which is not transmitted by any of the manuscripts. The emendation of Christ and **Ath** comes closest to this reading.

2.3.c) VII.16.14 (p. 364, 24-365,2): λέγω δὲ, ὅπως μήτε τῶν Σικελιωτῶν ἕνεκα... τοὺς λόγους **ποιήσεις** (Hoesch. : ποιήσης **Ath**, ποιήσειν **KL**). I believe that the correct reading is the subjunctive of **Ath** (=you may speak). It is a secondary sentence, which refers to the future and depends on a verb in the present. The infinitive of **K** and **L** is not suitable. Hoeschel against all manuscripts prefers the indicative. However, Procopius' usage is in favour of the reading of **Ath**: VIII.24.17 (p. 619, 16-18): λέγω δὲ, ὅπως βεβαιότατα μὲν **διασώζητε** τὴν

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[109] Cf. below 3.12.b.b, p. 88.

[110] Cf. II.13.3 (p. 209,19-20): προθυμίαν ἐπεδείξαντο ἀκοῆς κρείσσω; III.13.16 (p. 371,9-10): ἐλάσσω τε τὰ ξύλα καὶ τὸν μισθὸν τοῖς ἀρτοποιοῖς ἥσσονα δοίη; VII.1.15 (p. 300, 14-15): καὶ διάνοιαν... κρείσσω; VII.40.38 (p. 482,9-10): λείαν κρείσσονα.

[111] For comparative formations in -ων, see F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Milano, 1971), vol. II, pp. 151-2.

ὑπάρχουσαν ὑμῖν εὐπραξίαν, **συγχωρήσητε** δὲ Ῥωμαίους ἔχειν τὰ αὐτῶν ἴδια.

2.4. Vocabulary

2.4.a) VI. 15.22 (p. 218, 1-2): ἐπὶ **κοινῇ** (**K** : κοινοῦ **L**, κυνοῖς **Ath**) γὰρ τά τε ἄλλα δρῶσι καὶ τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα μετίασι τοῦτο. I believe that the correct phrase is ἐπὶ κοινῆς, which is not transmitted by any of the manuscripts. The scribe of **Ath** transmits the word phonetically correct (iotacism) with two spelling mistakes. In Procopius' works this phrase is used ten times;[112] the phrase ἐπὶ κοινοῦ or ἐπὶ κοινῇ are never used. So the reading of **Ath** is essentially correct and the error most probably caused by internal dictation or originated from a previous manuscript written by dictation.

2.4.b) VI.18.27 (p. 232, 1): ... καὶ Ναρσῆς μὲν τοσαῦτα **ἔλεξε** (εἶπε **Ath**). The correct reading may be that of **Ath**, without excluding the reading of other manuscripts, as it is not wrong. Procopius always uses the expression ὁ μὲν ... τοσαῦτα εἶπεν,[113] and he never uses the phrase ὁ μὲν ... τοσαῦτα ἔλεξεν. On the other hand, in the *Wars* he uses thirty-five times the expression ... ἔλεξε τοιάδε / ὧδε / τάδε. Manuscripts **c** and **k** of the sixteenth century transmit ἔλεγεν.

2.4.c) VII. 21.20 (p. 393, 12-14): ἤδη μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς ἠκηκόει τὰ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ **ξυμπεπτωκότα** (ξυμβεβηκότα **Ath**), ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις παρ' αὐτὸν ἦλθον... I believe that the reading of **Ath** is probably the more suitable of the two. In parallel cases the participle ξυμβεβηκότα is used: III.19.33 (p. 396, 8-9): καὶ ἅπαντα τὰ ξυμβεβηκότα μαθόντες, VII.10.9 (p. 338, 10-11): πάντα ἐς Τουτίλαν τὰ ξυμβεβηκότα σφίσιν ἀνήνεγκαν. In addition some lines below in line 17 the verb ξυνέβη is used, which might explain the correction.

2.4.d) VIII. 14.24 (p. 561, 4-6): ...τὰ οἰκία ἐμπρήσῃ λάθρα, **ἔνθα** (Haury : ἣν δὲ **K**, οἷς δὴ **L**, ἐν οἷς **Ath**) ὅ τε σῖτος καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπέκειτο. I believe that the reading of **Ath** with the meaning "in which" is correct. The suggestion of Haury is not wrong, but we should prefer a correct reading transmitted by a manuscript.

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[112] E.g., *Wars*, II.29.6 (p. 290, 12): ἐπὶ κοινῆς βουλευσαμένοις; VII.32.30 (p. 438, 13-14): ἐπὶ κοινῆς βουλευσάμενοι; VIII.20.3 (p. 590, 6-7): ἐπὶ κοινῆς Γερμανοὶ ἐκαλοῦντο ἅπαντες.

[113] See I.18.23 (p. 94, 16-17): ὁ μὲν Βελισάριος τοσαῦτα εἶπε; II.7.23 (p. 181, 24): ὁ μὲν Χοσρόης τοσαῦτα εἶπεν; III.10.18 (p. 358, 18): ὁ μὲν Ἰωάννης τοσαῦτα εἶπε.

CONCLUSION

It is clear that the above readings in **Ath** confirm the editors' emendations and corrections, and in addition offer further defensible readings. The readings in **Ath**, however, provide minor improvements to the text, mainly correction of spelling mistakes due to confusion of sounds. The fact that the correct readings appear throughout the text, copied by no less than six hands, indicate that they should be attributed most probably to correct copying from the exemplar, or to lucky uses or non-uses of frequent failings by the scribes of **Ath** (such as, e.g., the interchange of single and double consonants, see below, pp. 37-40).

3. FREQUENT ERRORS AND OBVIOUS SLIPS OF THE PEN (*LAPSUS CALAMI*)

Ath contains numerous errors, which arose mainly out of incomplete knowledge of the scribes concerning spelling, morphology, grammar and syntax of the language of Procopius. Other mistakes were due clearly to the carelessness or lack of attention or mental associations of a non-phonetic nature. However, it is not possible to tell whether some of the mistakes were **Ath**'s errors, or existed already in the exemplar. The following cases have been classified in groups according to the type of error and they have been set out by book according to the order in which they appear.

3.1. Single / Double consonants

A very frequent phonetic phenomenon in **Ath** is the use of double consonants in the place of a simple one and the other way round.[114] This duplication or the simplification of consonants is found mostly in verbs, which in different tenses duplicate the consonant of the ending, e.g. ἀγγέλλω, στέλλω, μέλλω, βάλλω, ῥίπτω etc., but also in proper names. Most of the following errors may have been caused inadvertently.

3.1.a) V. 20.10 (p. 103, 4-6): εἰ δέ γε θράσει ἐχόμενος ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὥρμησαι, πάντως σοι καὶ **μεταμέλει** (μεταμέλλει **Ath**) τῶν εἰκῆ πεπραγμένων. The verb μεταμέλομαι takes the personal dative and the genitive as object. **Ath**, as often, duplicates the λ. Perhaps the scribe of **Ath** is confused by the frequently used verb μέλλω. All later manuscripts examined transmit the word with single λ. The opposite, single λ in the place of double, is found in 22.17 (p. 111, 5-7): Κωνσταντῖνος δὲ (καὶ γάρ οἱ **ἠγγέλοντο** (ἠγγέλοντο **Ath**) οἱ πολέμιοι τῆς ἐς τὸν Τίβεριν ἀποπειρώμενοι διαβάσεως) δείσας περὶ τῷ ἐκείνῳ τειχίσματι... The fact that the verb ἀγγέλλω has some forms (future etc.) with single -λ, may confuse the scribe. Same case in 29.36 (p. 144, 19): **διαλλάσσον** (διαλάσσον **Ath**). All manuscripts copied later transmit double consonant.

3.1.b) V. 21.7 (p. 105, 16-19): οἰκίσκου τε σχῆμα τετραγώνου ἐργαζόμενοι **προκάλυμμα** (προκάλυμα **Ath**) πανταχόθεν ἀντὶ τοίχων τε καὶ τείχους διφθέρας αὐτῷ περιβάλλουσιν... The ending

[114] This happens mostly between vowels, a frequent characteristic in some Modern Greek dialects. For example, in the Cypriot dialect there are double consonants instead of single between vowels; see M.K. Kalli, "Η Ελληνική Εκκλησιαστική Γλώσσα στην Κύπρο κατά τη Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή Περίοδο", *Παρουσία* 11/12 (1997) 251, 253.

-μα of nouns is often transmitted wrongly in manuscripts. All later manuscripts have the double μ.

3.1.c) VI. 1.4 (p. 150, 10): **Οὔννους** (οὔνους **Ath**): The use of single consonants in the place of double happens for the same word in 1.8, p. 150, 24. But there are cases in **Ath** where the name is transmitted correctly with double -ν (1.6, p. 150, 20, 1.10, p. 151, 10). Another proper name which is transmitted with -ν instead of -νν is the word **Ραβέννα** (Ραβένα **Ath**): 8.2 (p. 186, 8); 10.6 (p. 193, 12-13); 10.7 (p. 193, 19); 11.1 (p. 196, 2); 11.6 (p. 197, 9); 17.22 (p. 227, 16-17); 17.24 (p. 227, 25); 18.19 (p. 230, 16); 18.25 (p. 231, 17); 22.9 (p. 248, 15); 22.22 (p. 250, 19); 23.1 (p. 251, 10); 23.6 (p. 252, 6); 26.13 (p. 267, 13); 28.25 (p. 280, 4-5); 29.5 (p. 283, 3); 29.26 (p. 286, 10) and 29.31 (p. 287, 3). This word too is sometimes transmitted correctly (see 7.37 (p. 185, 18). Also all other manuscripts transmit the above names either with double or with single consonant.

3.1.d) VI. 1.21 (p. 153, 2-3): **Μασσαγέτης** (μασαγέτης **Ath**). **Ath** transmits the word with single -σ- also in 2.10 (p. 155, 21). Later manuscripts transmit the name correctly.

3.1.e) VI. 3.4 (p. 160, 4-7): τούτῳ δὴ τῷ ὀχετῷ ἐν χώρῳ διέχοντι Ῥώμης σταδίοις πεντήκοντα **ξυμβάλλετόν** (ξυμβαλετόν **Ath**, ξυμβάλλεται **K**) τε ἀλλήλοιν καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδὸν δι' ὀλίγου τρέπεσθον. The single λ is used wrongly here by the scribe of **Ath**, perhaps due to the fact that aorist forms of βάλλειν are spelled with single λ. **Ath** transmits other words wrongly with single λ. Other cases in this book with single -λ instead of double are: 4.11 (p. 166, 20-22): ... ὅπως ἂν αὐτοῖς τε ἀδεέστερον οἱ ἵπποι τρέφοιντο καὶ οἱ Γότθοι μᾶλλον ἔτι **ἀναστέλλοιντο** (ἀναστέλοιντο **Ath**) τοῦ κατ ἐξουσίαν ...; 6.23 (p. 177,25 -178,1): **διαλλάσσειν** (διαλάσσειν **Ath**); 8.4 (p. 186, 24): **ἠγγέλλετο** (ἠγγέλετο **Ath**); 12.29 (p. 203, 24): **Γάλλων** (Γάλων **Ath**); 15.24 (p. 218, 10-11): **κάλλιστον** (κάλιστον **Ath**); 16.13 (p. 222, 7-9): **ἀπαλλασσόμενοι** (ἀπαλασσόμενοι **Ath**); 21.41 (p. 247, 5): **ἀγγέλλων** (ἀγγέλων **Ath**); 24.8 (p. 258, 16): **ἐπήγγελλες** (ἐπήγγελες **Ath**); 26.7 (p. 266, 15-16): **ἀποβάλλουσιν** (ἀποβάλουσιν **Ath**); 27.2 (p. 270, 13): **βαλλόμενοι** (βαλόμενοι **Ath**); 27.8 (p. 271, 5): **ἔβαλλον** (ἔβαλον **Ath**); 27.8 (p. 271, 10-11): **βαλλόντων** (βαλόντων **Ath**); The opposite, double λ instead of single in **Ath**, appears in 10.7 (p. 193, 19-20): **μάλα** (μάλλα **Ath**); 14.17 (p. 211, 13-15): **Ἔρουλοι** (ἔρουλλοι **Ath**);[115] 14.42 (p. 214, 14-15) and

[115] This error appears very frequently.

22.7 (p. 248, 6-8): **μετέμελεν** (μετέμελλεν **Ath**); 20.8 (p. 237, 10-11); 28.30 (p. 281, 6): **φυλακτήριον** (φυλλακτήριον **Ath**) and 30.17 (p. 291, 13): **περιβαλόντες** (περιβάλλοντες **Ath**). Later manuscripts are also confused as to the double / single consonants but not to such an extent as **Ath**.

3.1.f) VI. 3.27 (p. 163, 15-16): ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν πεττεύειν οἰόμενοι τὸν ἕνα βούλεσθε ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων **ἀναρρίπτειν** (ἀναρίπτειν **Ath**, ἀναρριπτεῖν **L**) κύβον... Although the verb ῥίπτω is written with one ρ, the compound and the past tenses are written with double ρ; this is what confuses the scribe of **Ath**, but he rarely makes syntactical or grammatical mistakes. In this case **L** transmits a grammatically wrong form, because of a simple change of the accent. The same in 18.27 (p. 232, 2-3): **καταρρεῖν** (καταρεῖν **Ath**). Double ρ instead of single is transmitted by **Ath** in 20.29 (p. 240, 10-11): ... μαθεῖν τε παρ' αὐτῶν **ἀναθορόντα** (Kras : ἀναθορρόντα **Ath**, ἀναθορῶντα **K**, ἀναθηρῶντα **L**) τὸν πάντα λόγον καὶ ἄμφω κτεῖναι, where the editor's emendation is right.

3.1.g) VI. 6.28 (p. 178, 14): **Βρεττανίαν** (Βρετανίαν **Ath**). Single τ instead of double occurs frequently in manuscripts, especially in foreign words with unknown etymology for the scribe. Same case in 12.10 (p. 201): **Οὐίττιγις** (οὐίτιγις **L, Ath**). Almost always the latinized name Vittigis is transmitted wrongly by manuscripts in two forms: οὐίτιγις or ἰουτιγις. The same in 7.16 (p. 182, 12-13), 12.36 (p. 204, 24), 19.20 (p. 192, 7-8), 28.26 (p. 280, 7-8), 29.22 (p. 285, 19).

3.1.h) VI. 22.9 (p. 248, 18-19): **ἀξιόμαχοι** (ἀξιόμμαχοι **Ath**). Double μ instead of single between vowels.

3.1.i) VII. 1.22 (p. 301, 10-12): Βελισάριος ... ὥσπερ **ἐρρήθη** (ἐρήθη **Ath, c, k**), δυνατὸς γενονὼς... Later manuscripts transmit it correctly with double -ρ, except from **c** and **k** which agree with **Ath**. The same in **Ath** appears several times: 2.8 (p. 306, 23); 14.31 (p. 359, 1); 17.15 (p. 372, 2); 18.11 (p. 375, 17); 19.23 (p. 382, 11); 20.3 (p. 384, 18).

3.1.j) VII. 1.35 (p. 303, 24-26): ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ **Ἔρουλοί** (ἔρουλλοι **Ath**) τε πολλοὶ πίπτουσι καὶ Οὐίσανδος ὁ τῶν **Ερούλων** (ἐρούλλων **Ath**) ἀρχηγὸς θνήσκει. This proper name is transmitted with double consonant in Book VII, as well: 34.14 (p. 444, 14); 34.44 (p. 452, 12), although many times is transmitted correctly. Later manuscripts are not consistent, either. The same error also appears in the following cases in this Book: 1.41 (p. 304, 19-20): διὸ δὴ τὰ μὲν

πρῶτα Ἰλδίβαδος Οὐραΐαν ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους **διέβαλεν** (διέβαλλεν **Ath**)... 4.10 (p. 314, 11-12): **ἀντιπάλου** (ἀντιπάλλου **Ath**); the opposite phenomenon, which is cause inadvertently by the scribes of **Ath**, appears in the following cases: 18.23 (p. 377,11): **Τουλλιανὸς** (Τουλιανὸς **Ath**); 20.4 (p. 384,22): **ἐπέβαλλεν** (ἐπέβαλεν **Ath**); 20.15 (p. 387, 5-6): **ἐμβαλλόμενοι** (ἐβαλόμενοι **Ath**); 33.6 (p. 443, 2): **ξυμβάλλουσι** (ξυμβάλουσι). In the above cases, later manuscripts transmit the correct reading. However, there are other cases, where this phenomenon appears.

3.1.k) VII. 6.11 (p. 322, 21): **Οὖννοι** (οὖνοι **Ath**). The same in 11.15 (p. 342, 18); 12.10 (p. 348, 4); 14.33 (p. 359, 16); 23.6 (p. 400, 2). Single instead of double ν appears sometimes in the proper name **Ῥαβέννα** (see 11.1 (p. 340, 14) and **Ἰννοκέντιος** (15.7 (p. 361, 10-11). The same in other words as **διασκεδάννυσθαι** in 30.11 (p. 428, 10).

3.1.l) VII. 12.6 (p. 347, 15-16): πάλιν πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων **κατειλημμένης** (κατειλημένης **Ath**). Frequently single μ instead of double in the particular ending (-μενος instead of -μμενος).

3.1.m) VIII. 2.14 (p. 492, 23-24): ...καὶ τείχους μὲν αὐτὴν **περιέβαλε** (περιέβαλλε **Ath**) μέγα τι χρῆμα... The duplication of the single consonant between vowels is frequent: 2.15 (p. 493, 6): **συλήσας** (συλλήσας **Ath**); 11.27 (p. 539, 14): **πολὺς** (πολλὺς **Ath**); 11.45 (p. 543, 3): **ἔβαλον** (ἔβαλλον **Ath**). Also the opposite happens: 7.2 (p. 516, 9-10): **ἀπηλλάσσοντο** (ἀπηλάσσοντο **Ath**); 14.11 (p. 559, 4): **βάλλοντες** (βάλοντες **Ath**).

3.1.n) VIII. 2.31 (p. 495, 19): **δέρας** (δέρρας **Ath**), 6.27 (p. 515, 2): **ἄβυσσος** (ἄβυσος **Ath**): Inadvertent errors, double consonants instead of single ones and vice versa.

3.1.o) VIII. 5.1 (p. 503, 6): Πάλαι μὲν **Οὔννων** (οὔνων **Ath**)... Single ν instead of double between vowels, which appears in the previous books for the same word.

3.2. Parecheses

3.2.1. o / ω

The interchange of o and ω is very frequent in all phonetic conditions in the Byzantine period.[116] The manuscripts copied after the fourteenth century generally confuse o and ω.

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[116]See Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri*, vol. I, p. 275-8. A case that is worth noting is that το for τῷ is used in POxy 1901.65 of sixth century AD (2nd hand) with almost every ω > o 21 times.

3.2.1.a) V. 12.25 (p. 66,20-67,3): ἢν δὲ ὁποτέρων ἀπολελειμμένων, οἱ ἕτεροι στρατεύσαντες τὸ Βουργουζιώνων **καταστρέψωνται** (καταστρέψονται **Ath, c, k**) γένος καὶ χώραν ἣν ἔχουσιν παραστήσωνται, ποινὴν οἱ νενικηκότες παρὰ τῶν οὐ ξυστρατευσάντων ῥητόν τι χρυσίον κομίζωνται, κοινὴν δὲ καὶ οὕτω χώραν τὴν δορυάλωτον ἀμφοτέρων εἶναι. With this phonetic error, the scribe changes the mood of the verb καταστρέφομαι. The correct mood is definitely the subjunctive, as it is a conditional sentence beginning with ἤν, which has two verbs connected with καὶ, which have to be in the same tense and mood. The later manuscripts, **c** and **k** agree with **Ath**. The opposite error appears in Book VI 22.22 (p. 250, 19-21): ...ἄνδρας παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης σταλήσεσθαι ὑποσχόμενος, οἵπερ ἐς Γότθους τὰς σπονδὰς **θήσονται** (θήσωνται **Ath**), ὅπη ἂν ἑκατέροις ξυνοίσειν μέλλῃ.

3.2.1.b) V. 18.11 (p. 91, 8-11): Βελισάριος δὲ αὐτός τε ἐπιστροφάδην τοὺς ἀεὶ ὑπαντιάζοντας ἔκτεινε καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ δορυφόρων τε καὶ ὑπασπιστῶν τῆς **εἰς αὐτὸν** (ἑαυτῶν **K**, εἰς αὐτῶν **Ath**) εὐνοίας ὡς μάλιστα δὴ ‹ἐν›[117] τούτῳ τῷ κινδύνῳ ἀπήλαυσε. The reading of **Ath** is definitely wrong as the preposition εἰς needs accusative. The mistake must have been made due to parechesis of αὐτὸν and αὐτῶν. **K**'s version εαὐτῶν is unacceptable, because it cannot be plural or reflexive.

3.2.1.c) V. 25.18 (p. 126, 16-18): **τότε** (τῷ τὲ **Ath**) καὶ τοῦ Ἰάνου νεὼ τὰς θύρας τῶν τινες Ῥωμαίων βιασάμενοι ἀνακλῖναι λάθρα ἐπειράσαντο. The τότε at the beginning of sentences is not very frequent. The reading of **Ath** is certainly wrong. Perhaps the confusing element is the noun νεὼ in genitive: the scribe may not have been aware with the anomalous cases of the attic word and he thought that νεὼ was dative. Most probably, however, it is an inadvertent error, such as the one in 27.26 (p. 133, 22-25): καὶ αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν ὡς αὐτοῖς κατ ἀρχὰς ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθὼν κατενόησεν **ὅτι** (ὡτι **Ath**) ποτὲ τὸ διαφέρον ἐν ἑκατέρα στρατιᾷ εἴη...

3.2.1.e) VI. 1.17 (p. 152, 13-15): ... ἢν δέ γε **τὸν** (τῶν **Ath**) πολέμιον πύθωνται μόνον ἐνταῦθα εἶναι, οὐδένα ἂν αὐτοῦ ποιοῖντο λόγον. The interchange between o and ω is inadvertent, because the ending of the noun πολέμιον is transmitted correctly. Other inadvertent errors are in the same Book: 6.17 (p. 176, 22-23): ... καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν διεσωσάμεθα τῶν **πώποτε** (πόπωτε **Ath**) βεβασιλευκότων οὐδενὸς

[117] ἐν Maltr. : omiserunt codd.

ἡσσον... (in 6.19 (p. 117,5) the word appears correct); 7.7 (p. 180, 26-27): ... τοξότας τε καὶ ναύτας ἐσεβίβασαν κατὰ **λόγον** (λόγων **Ath**) ἑκάστου; 26.17 (p. 268, 10-12): διὸ δὴ Βελισάριος ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο ζῶντά τινα **τῶν** (τὸν **Ath**) ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις **δοκίμων** (δόκιμον **Ath**) λαβεῖν...; 27.4 (p. 270, 19-20): διὸ δὴ **κατωρρωδηκότες** (κατορρωδηκότες **Ath**) τὴν ἔφοδον οἱ Γότθοι ἐν ταῖς ἐπάλξεσιν ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον.

3.2.1.f) VI. 6.16 (p. 176, 18-20): ... Ὀδόακρον δὲ ἀδικίας τῆς ἐς Αὐγούστουλον τίσασθαι, καὶ τῆς χώρας **αὐτὸν** (αὐτῶν **Ath**) τε καὶ τοὺς Γότθους τὸ λοιπὸν κρατεῖν ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως. **Ath takes the pronoun as possessive and so he changes the o to ω, not realising that** αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς Γότθους **go together as objects of** κρατεῖν.

3.2.1.g) VI. 9.20 (p.... 9-11): ... **αὐτεπάγγελτος** (αὐτεπαγγέλτως **Ath**) ἐλθὼν Βελισαρίῳ τε ἅπαντα φράζει καὶ τόν ἕτερον ἐνδείκνυσιν. **The correct form is the adjective, although the adverb is not wrong.**[118]

3.2.1.h) VII. 7.5 (p. 325, 20-22): διά τε τῶν ῥοτθίων **τὸν κτύπον** (τῶν κτύπων **Ath**) ἔτι ἀλλήλων κατακούειν οὐκ ἦν... **The error is phonetic, but would also be a result of attraction, as it is the cases in 12.5** (p. 347, 10-12): ...καὶ κατεπτηχότας τοὺς πολεμίους δεδουλωμένους τε τὸ φρόνημα **τῷ** (τὸ **Ath**) πρὸς ἐκείνων πολλάκις ἡσσῆσθαι.

3.2.1.i) VII. 15.3 (p. 360, 23-25): ...ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου ἐπισκήψαντες **τῷ** (τὸ **Ath**) τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπέδῳ ὀλίγους μὲν τινας ἔκτειναν... **This is also an inadvertnent error, as the noun** στρατοπέδῳ **is transmitted correctly. Phonetic errors also in 15.5** (p. 361, 3-5): ...ἰσχυριζόμενοι δὲ ὡς ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἑτέραν ἐπεκδρομὴν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους **ποιήσονται** (ποιήσωνται **Ath**) παρεκάλουν καὶ αὐτὸν...; 17.15 (p. 372, 4-5): ...οἱ δὲ φέροντες ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν τὰ ἔπιπλα πάντα βίον **αὐτῶν τὸν** (**K** : αὐτοῖς **L**, αὐτὸν **Ath**) ἐφήμερον ἀντηλλάσσοντο; VII. 21.22 (p. 393, 19-21): αἰτούμεθα τὰ ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης καλὰ σέ τε προσίεσθαι **αὐτὸν** (αὐτῶν **Ath**) καὶ ἡμῖν ξυγχωρεῖν; 25.20 (p. 411, 4): **λελωφηκέναι** (λελοφηκέναι **Ath**); 27.2 (p. 417, 2-3): **Σολόμωνος** (σολόμονος **Ath**); 34.44 (p. 452, 13): **Ἀόρδῳ** (ἀώρδῳ **Ath**); 35.20 (p. 456, 10-11): ...ἐκέλευον δὲ **αὐτὸν** (αὐτῶν **Ath**) ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγέντα ὅπῃ

[118] **This word is used once by Philo Judaeus,** *De vita Mosis*, 2.252,2: αὐτεπάγγελτος ἤδη παρέσται, μὴ ὁρωμένη προαγωνιεῖται.

βούλοιτο διασώσασθαι; 36.18 (p. 461, 4): **ἰσχυρότατα** (ἰσχυρώτατα **Ath**); 40.17 (p. 479, 8): **ἐπισπομένη** (ἐπισπωμένη **Ath**).

3.2.1.j) VIII. 8.32 (p. 523, 21-22): οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅ τι **γένωνται** (γένονται **Ath**). Interchange of o and ω also in 7.3 (p. 516, 12): ...καὶ διαφθορέα τοῦ Περσῶν γένους **αὐτόν** (αὐτῶν **Ath**) ἀπεκάλουν; 9.11 (p. 527, 3-4): δείσαντες οὖν μὴ Ῥωμαίων δοῦλοι τὸ λοιπὸν **ἔσονται** (ἔσωνται **Ath**); 10.8 (p. 532, 10-11): Ὑπὸ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν χρόνον Χοσρόη ξυνέβη μηδὲ **τὸν γόνον** (τῶν γόνων **Ath**) τῇ ἀπανθρωπίᾳ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀνέπαφον μεῖναι; 11.45 (p. 543, 1): **ἀμφοτέρων** (ἀμφωτέρων **Ath**); 12.12 (p. 549, 1-2): εἰ γὰρ ἀπολεῖν ἐβούλετο. ὦ ἄνδρες, ὑμᾶς. οὐκ ἂν, οἶμαι, **παραδεδώκει** (**K** : παραδεδόκει **L**, παρεδεδόκει **Ath**) τοῖς διασώζειν ἐφιεμένοις.

3.2.1.k) VIII. 12.4 (p. 547, 16-18): οὐ γὰρ ἐστιν **ἀνδρεῖον** (ἀνδρεῖων **Ath**) τὸ τοῖς ἀμηχάνοις ἀντιστατεῖν, οὐδε **ξυνετὸν** (ξυνετῶν **Ath**) τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι τοῖς κεκρατηκόσιν ὑπείκειν. This may not be a question of phonetics. Perhaps it is an attempt by **Ath** to give the meaning of ἀνδρείων (ἀνδρῶν) and ξυνετῶν (ἀνδρῶν), namely: "it is not characteristic of strong and wise men to...". However, when Procopius uses the genitive with this meaning he does not omit ἀνδρῶν: e.g. VI.6.6 (p. 175, 1-3): ὡς δὲ ἀξυνέτων ἐστὶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπέραντά τε ταλαιπωρεῖν βούλεσθαι VIII.20.47 (p. 597, 20): καίπερ ἀεὶ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν ἐκφερόμενος ἀναρίθμων.

3.2.l) VIII. 14.2 (p. 557, 21): **χῶροι** (χόροι sscr. χῶροι **Ath**) γὰρ λοχμώδεις πρὸ τούτων τῶν πυλῶν εἰσὶν... It is likely that this correction was made by the scribe of **Ath** himself after checking the exemplar.

3.2.2. ε / αι

3.2.2.a) V. 26.17 (p. 129, 25-27): οὐδὲ γὰρ **καταίρειν** (κατέρειν **Ath**, κατέρρειν **L**) ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίων νῆες τὸ λοιπὸν εἶχον, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ Ἀνθίῳ ὡρμίζοντο...; 29.18 (p. 142, 5-6): καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἱκανὸν **ἐφαίνετο** (ἐφέναιτο **Ath**) λίαν ὀλίγοις οὖσιν ἐς τόδε αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀγωνίαν ἀποκεκρίσθαι: phonetic / orthographical errors. These confusions do not exist in manuscripts copied from the fifteenth century onwards.

3.2.3. General pareheses

3.2.3.a) VI. 21.32 (p. 245, 20-21): ...εἶτα τοῖς ἄνωθεν διωρισμένοις καιροῖς οὐδὲν ἧσσον **ἀναπιμπλᾶσι** (ἀναπιμπλάσι **K**, ἀναπιμπλῶσι **L**, ἀναπίμπλησι **Ath**) τὴν πεπρωμένην. There are many variants, because of the difficult verb, so the scribes are confused. It is clear that neither the singular of **Ath** is correct, nor the subjunctive of **L**; the correct one is the reading of **K**, which is transmitted with the wrong accent. Possibly it is parehesis.

3.2.3.b) VII. 1.42 (p. 304, 22-24): βουλομένοις γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὡς ἥκιστα **ἦν οὕτως** (ἄν οὕτως **Ath**) ἀνεπισκέπτως Οὐραΐαν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι. This is possibly an attraction by the previous α [i'kistanou'tos].

3.2.3.c) VII. 5.6 (p. 318, 20-22): ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς Ἰουστίνῳ ξυνέμιξεν, ὀλίγους μέν τινας τῶν αὐτῷ ἑπομένων ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῦ **εἴασαν** (ἦσαν **Ath**)... An inadvertent error, due to the fact that the scribe fails to understand the meaning of ἐάω. The correct reading is transmitted by later manuscripts.

3.2.3.d) VII. 6.23 (p. 324, 12-14): ἐκ δὲ τοῦ παραδόξου σωθείς τε καὶ ξυγγενόμενος τῷ Δημητρίῳ **ἐθάρσυνέ τε** (ἐθάρσυν ἔτι **Ath**) μάλιστα καὶ ἐς ταύτην δὴ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐνῆγε. The mistake must originate from the time when the words were not separated from each other (eth'arsinete] [eth'arsin'eti]). This is the only time in all of Procopius' works that this type of the verb is used.

3.2.3.e) VII. 17.1 (p. 369, 12-13): τοὺς μέντοι στρατιώτας οὔπω τὰ ἀναγκαῖα **ἐπελελοίπει** (ἐπιλελοίπει **Ath**) ἀλλ' ἔτι ἀντείχον. The same error at 17.15 (p. 372, 3-4) and at 30.19 (p. 429, 18-19); the scribe forgets the augment in pluperfect.

3.2.3.f) VII. 20.19 (p. 387, 21 - 388, 2): τοῦ μέντοι δήμου πεντακοσίους ἄνδρας ἀνὰ **πᾶσαν** (ἅπασαν **Ath**) τὴν πόλιν ἀπολελεῖφθαι ξυνέπεσεν, οἵσπερ ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ κατέφυγον μόλις. Perhaps the scribe is confused by the preposition ἀνὰ before. The reading of **Ath** could be correct; but according to Procopius' usage, he uses πάσαν to characterise πόλις thirteen times in Wars, opposed to ἅπασαν which never goes with πόλις. It may be parehesis.

3.3. Iotacisms (ι / η / ει/ οι)

3.3.a) V. 4.26 (p. 24,9-13): Γότθων γὰρ συγγενεῖς τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνης ἀνῃρημένων Θευδάτῳ προσελθόντες οὔτε αὐτῷ οὔτε σφίσι τὸν βίον ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἰσχυρίζοντο εἶναι, ἤν γε μὴ αὐτοῖς Ἀμαλασοῦνθα ὅτι τάχιστα ἐκποδὼν **γένηται** (γένοιτο **Ath**). The scribe of **Ath** changes the mood of the "if" clause, disagreeing with all other manuscripts which have the subjunctive. According to the meaning, the conditional sentence shows a wish, which may be fulfilled in the future. Although the reading γένοιτο is the *lectio difficilior* as the optative was not much used in Koine any more, the subjunctive is the correct mood. Regarding the most recent manuscripts examined, none of them agree with **Ath**.

3.3.b) V. 12.35 (p. 68,10-13): ἐν τοῦτῳ δὲ Οὐισίγοτθοι, ἐπεὶ Γερμανοὺς ἀμφὶ πόλιν Καρκασιανὴν στρατοπεδεύειν **ἐπύθοντο** (ἐπείθοντο **Ath**) ὑπηντίαζόν τε καὶ στρατόπεδον ποιησάμενοι ἠρέμουν. This is a simple phonetic error, which led to the difference in the meaning of the verb, and it seems to make sense in the context: "When the Visigoths were persuaded that / asked to learn whether the Germans were in camp near the city, they went to meet them". Perhaps it is a simple phonetic error. Interestingly, manuscripts **k** and **c** of the sixteenth century transmit the same spelling with **Ath**.

3.3.c) V. 17.6 (p.87, 13-14): Ῥώμης γὰρ Ναρνία πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίοις σταδίοις **διέχει** (διέχοι **Ath**). The optative of **Ath** is not suitable. It is a straightforward case of iotacism. Manuscript **r** transmits the same reading as **Ath**. There is a similar error in 27.5 (p. 130, 24-131, 2): ...οὐδὲ ξίφους ἢ δορατίου τινὸς ἅπτεσθαι, χρῆσθαι δὲ μόνοις τοξεύμασιν, ἡνίκα τέ οἱ τὴν φαρέτραν οὐδὲν ἐντὸς ἔχουσαν **ἴδῃ** (Hoesch. : ἴδοιεν **K**, ἴδει **L**, ἴδοι **Ath**), φεύγειν τε κατὰ κράτος οὐδὲν αἰδεσθέντα καὶ ἐς τὸν περίβολον ἀναχωρεῖν δρόμῳ. The manuscripts give different moods of the verb *εἴδω. The reading of **K** is rejected, as the subject of the verb is Trajan (the name appears seven lines before). The dative of the personal pronoun οἱ in the sentence confirms that the singular is necessary. Most possibly the errors of Ath and L are phonetic.

On the other hand, the subjunctive, which Hoeschel suggests, may be correct in that case. The syntax of ἡνίκα showing action, which happens repeatedly in the future or at the moment it happens, is with subjunctive. The optative of **Ath** may be also correct: there is an indirect speech, every verb depend on the phrase Βελισάριος ... ἐκέλευε... Classical authors frequently use this syntax (ἡνίκα + optative) in

indirect speech showing something will happen in the future, but this is not the case here.

Another similar error in this Book is the case in 27.6 (p. 131, 4-6): Τραιανὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς διακοσίοις ἐκ πύλης Σαλαρίας **ᾔει** (ἦοι **Ath**) ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον. It is again just a phonetic error, interchange of ει and οι due to their phonetic equivalence.

3.3.d) V. 17.9 (p.87, 24-26): ἄνοδοί τε δύο ἐνταῦθα **δὴ ἄγουσιν** (**K**: ἄγουσιν **L**, διάγουσιν **Ath**), ἡ μὲν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον, ἡ δὲ πρὸς δύοντα. **Ath** changes the verb. The verb διάγω has a different meaning ("carry over or across") from the simple ἄγω, and on the other hand the particle δὴ in the sentence makes sense, because it emphasises that "the river gave the name to the city: ποταμὸς δὲ Νάρνος ... ὃς καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῇ πόλει παρέσχεν), "especially (δὴ) because two roads lead up to the city". The verb ἄγω is more suitable for the context, as διάγω is usually used for "carry over". The most important argument is that the verb διάγω is never used by Procopius in any of his works. A similar case appears in VII. 17.16 (p. 372, 5-8): τελευτῶντες δὲ, ἐπεὶ οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατιῶται σῖτον οὐκ εἶχον, ὅνπερ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἀπόδωνται πλήν γε **δὴ ὅτι** (διότι **Ath**) τῷ Βέσσᾳ ὀλίγος ἔτι ἐλέλειπτο... which is definitely a phonetic error (they sound the same [di'oti], [di'oti]). We should bear in mind that the above alterations are likely to have been caused also by internal dictation. None of the manuscripts copied later agree with **Ath**.

3.3.e) V. 18.13 (p. 91, 15-16): τὰ τε βέλη πάντα ἐδέχοντο καὶ τοὺς ἀεὶ ἐπιόντας **ὠθισμῷ** (ὠθησμῷ **Ath**) χρώμενοι ἀπεκρούοντο. The interchange of η and ι forms two different words. The correct reading is definitely that of most manuscripts. The wrong spelling of **Ath** results from confusion with the word ὤθησις (ὠθέω) which is used by authors of 4th century AD, such as Gregory Nanzianzinus and Alexandrus Aphrodisius. It is worth noting that the term ὠθησμὸς is never used by Procopius.

3.3.f) VI. 2.23 (p. 157, 15-17): ἔμπροσθεν δὲ ἄλλος **μηρὸν** (μυρὸν **Ath**) αὐτοῦ τὸν εὐώνυμον νύξας τὸν ταύτῃ, **μυῶνα** (**L** : μυόν **K**, μυόντα **Ath**) οὐκ εὐθείᾳ τινὶ, ἀλλ' ἐγκαρσίᾳ πληγῇ ἔτεμε. Inadvertent errors due to confusion of sounds, as it is the case in 6. 1 (p. 174, 9-16): Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι εὐθὺς μὲν ἀπεγίγνωσκόν τε τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ὅπως ἐνθένδε ἀναχωρήσωσιν ἐν βουλῇ εἶχον, πρὸς τε τοῦ **λοιμοῦ** (λοιμοῦ **L** pr. m., sed ο post λ erasum est, λιμοῦ **Ath**) καὶ τῶν πολεμίων διεφθαρμένοι, ἐς ὀλίγους τε ἤδη ἐκ μυριάδων περιεστηκότες πολλῶν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ τῷ **λιμῷ** (λοιμῷ **Ath**)

ἐπιέζοντο τῷ μὲν λόγῳ πολιορκοῦντες, ἔργῳ δὲ πολιορκούμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ παντων ἀποκεκλεισμένοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων. The scribe of **Ath** changes the meaning of the words, by just excluding the o of the first word and adding it to the second. This is not done accidentally, because both λοιμὸς (pestilence) and λιμὸς ("famine") are problems for barbarians. However, all later manuscripts examined transmit the correct spelling, apart from **δ** which transmits the first term as λιμοῦ; so it agrees with **Ath**.

3.3.g) VI. 6.21 (p. 177, 13-14): **ὑμεῖς** (ἡμεῖς **Ath**) δὲ, τούτων τοιούτων ὄντων, Ἰταλίας μὲν οὐ προσεποιεῖσθε... The same in: 21.8 (p. 242, 1-2): ἦν γάρ τινι μελλήσει ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι ἐς **ἡμᾶς** (ὑμᾶς **Ath**) χρῆσθε ... This is a common mistake which occurs frequently in both literary and documentary texts through the Roman and Byzantine periods.[119] The opposite in 28.15 (p. 277, 23-24): **ἡμεῖς** (ὑμεῖς **Ath**) μὲν οὖν ξυνάρξομέν τε βουλομένοις ὑμῖν Ἰταλίας... Later manuscripts transmit the above cases correctly.

3.3.h) VI. 6.29 (p. 178, 17-19): τοὺς γὰρ εὐεργεσίας ἢ χάριτός τινος ἄρξαντας **τοῖς ἴσοις** (τῆς ἴσης **Ath**) ἀμείβεσθαι ἄξιον. The confusion between τοῖς ἴσοις and τῆς ἴσης is phonetic and very likely caused by dictation, either at some earlier stage in the transmission process, in which case the reading would have been in **Ath**'s exemplar, or by the scribe of **Ath** himself through internal dictation.

3.3.i) VI. 7.18 (p. 182, 15-19): αἴτιοι δὲ μάλιστα τούτοις δὴ τοῖς βαρβάροις τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τῆς ἀπορίας ἐγένοντο θαλασσοκρατούντες Ῥωμαίοι, καί **τι** (τοι **Ath**) αὐτοῖς ἐσκομίζεσθαι τῶν ἀναγκαίων οὐ ξυγχωροῦντες. Iotacistic error: τι and τοι pronounced the same [ti]. Probably there has been confusion with the word καίτοι. Similar in 15.30 (p. 219, 9-11): ...ὡς οὐ τὰ ξύμφορα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ποιοῖεν ἐκ Θούλης ἀρχηγὸν ἐπαγόμενοι Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως **οὔτι** (Dind. : καὶ οὐ τοι **Ath**, οὐ τοι rell.) ἐθελουσίου.

3.3.j) VI. 10.7 (p. 193, 20-21): τὴν ἐν Ῥώμῃ διαλύσουσι **προσεδρείαν** (προσεδρίαν **Ath**), ἀμφὶ τῷ χωρίῳ τούτῳ δείσαντες. The interchange between ει and ι in the feminine ending /ia/ is frequent in manuscripts. This indicates the identification of the classical Greek /ei/ diphthong with the simple vowel /i/.[120] The same error in 11.8 (p. 197, 14).

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[119]See Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri*, vol. I, 262.

[120]For this interchange, see Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri*, vol. I, 189-91.

3.3.k) VI. 19.3 (p. 233, 5-6): ... μόνον δὲ **δύσοδος** (δίσοδος **Ath**) τῷ ἀνάντης ἐς ἄγαν εἶναι, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀγχωτάτω ἰόντι. Phonetic error - interchange of υ and ι, perhaps because of confusion of the first compound, δις (double) instead of δυσ- (difficult).

3.3.l) VII. 6.16 (p. 323, 12-13): καὶ ἔτυχέ γε **τῆς** (τοῖς **Ath**) τῶν πολεμίων ἐννοίας. An inadvertent error, as is the case in 24.27 (p. 406, 9-10): ...τοῦτο λόγῳ αὐτὸς οὐδενὶ **διαφθείρειεν** (διαφθείροιεν **Ath**)...; 19.7 (p. 380, 1-2): ...ἤν τι σφίσιν ἐναντίωμα **ὑπαντιάσῃ** (ὑπαντιάσει sscr. -η **Ath**), ἔξουσιν ὅπῃ διαφυγόντες σωθήσονται; 40.34 (p. 481,25 - 482,1): ὕστερον δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς στρατιὰν ἀξιολογωτάτην ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν, **ἧς** (οἷς **Ath**) ἄλλοι τε καὶ Κωνσταντιανὸς...ἡγοῦντο...

3.3.m) VII. 17.13 (p. 371, 22-23): ...ὁ δὲ δὴ ἄλλος ἅπας ὅμιλος τὰς **ἀκαλήφας** (Maltr. : ἀκαλλίφας **Ath**, ἀκαλύφας rell.) μόνας ἤσθιον... **Ath** transmits wrongly this word in other cases, as well: 17.16 (p. 372, 15): ἀκαλίφας, 17.18 (p. 372, 15): ἀκαλλίφας. In these cases all other manuscripts transmit it correct. As this is an unusual word, it is misspelled by scribes and by those of later manuscripts who agree with the spelling of **L** and **K**.

3.3.n) VII. 24.31 (p. 406, 24): ...λύσαντες τὴν **προσεδρείαν**... (προσεδρίαν **Ath**): Interchange of ει and ι in this word. The same cases in this book: 11.27 (p.344, 16-17); 36.26 (p. 462, 14); 37.18 (p. 465, 21-22); 40.39 (p. 482, 15). The above cases are transmitted correctly by manuscripts copied later than the fourteenth century.

3.3.o) VIII. 8.17 (p. 521, 13-14): ...αὐτὸς δε παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ὄπισθεν **ᾖει** (ἴει **Ath**)... The same phonetic error appears in 8.22 (p. 522, 12-13): ...ἐς φρούριον ἐν Περσαρμενίοις κείμενον **ᾖει** (ἴει **Ath**). Similar phonetic errors in 11.42 (p. 542, 13): **ξυνῆει** (ξυνείη **Ath**); 12.24 (p. 551, 3): **προσεδρείας** (προσεδρίας **Ath**); 14.14 (p. 559, 14-15): ...εἴτε τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποπειρᾶσθαι βουλόμενοι, **ᾗ** (εἰ **Ath**) και τι αὐτοὺς θεῖον ἐκίνησεν...; 14.15 (p. 559, 22): **εἶκειν** (ἥκειν **Ath**). Later manuscripts transnsmit the correct spelling of the above words.

3.4. Omission / addition of the euphonic –ν[121]

3.4.a) V. 3.24 (p. 18,19): τῶν ἐνθένδε (ἐνθένδεν Ath) ὠνηθέντων. A very frequent phenomenon in **Ath** is the wrong form of ἐνθένδε. Perhaps the scribe does this, because the next word starts with vowel (ὠνηθέντων), as we also find in 29.32 (p. 144, 1-2). The next similar case supports this opinion: In V.3.25 (p.18,22) the correct adverb would be the ἐντεῦθεν; in this position an ἐνθένδεν appears. The scribe not only changes the word, but he writes the new one wrongly. In that case again a word, beginning with a vowel follows (ἀπόβασιν). Another possibility is that this mistake is made, because the scribe confuses the two similar adverbs ἐνθένδε and ἐντεύθεν and he puts an unjustifiable -ν at the end of the first. It is certain that the scribe is not aware that it consists of the adverb ἔνθεν and the particle δὲ which never changes form. Another possibility which is very likely is the use of a movable -ν irregularly throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods.[122]

3.4.b) VI. 2.9 (p. 155, 17-19): ἐκ δὲ πυλίδος Πιγκιανῆς ἱππέας ἑξακοσίους ἐπὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τὰ χαρακώματα **ἔστελλεν** (ἔστελλε **Ath**). The emphonic –ν, which omitted by **Ath**, is necessary when the word ends a sentence or when the following word starts with a vowel. Similar cases: 4.29 (p. 169, 16-18): τοῦτο μέντοι ἀπισχυρισάμενοι **λέγουσιν** (λέγουσι **Ath**) ὅτι δὲ ἐπειδὰν τῷ Βεβίῳ ταύτην ἐρεύξασθαι τὴν κόνιν ξυμβαίη...

3.4.c) VI. 5.3 (p. 170, 15-17): κύκλον τέ τινα καὶ χαρακώματος σχῆμα τὰς ἁμάξας ποιησάμενοι **ἐνθένδε** (ενθένδεν **Ath**) τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμύνασθαι... The adverb ἐνθένδε is transmitted very frequently with a final -ν. But this does not happen in all cases (e.g. it appears correctly in 2.4 (p.155, 4). The addition of the final -ν appears in 5.4 (p. 171, 2) and 5.17 (p. 172,22) as well in chapter five. More of the same cases are found throughout Book VI: 9.2 (p. 189, 12); 9.9 (p. 190, 3); 9.16 (p. 191, 18); 13.4 (p. 206, 10); 14.23 (p. 212, 8-9); 21.41 (p. 247, 4); 23.31 (p. 256, 8-9); 24.18 (260, 8); 26.23 (p. 269, 11); 27.4 (p. 270, 21); 28.1 (p. 275, 20-21).

3.4.d) VII. 5.18 (p. 320, 19-20): ... δεδιὼς μὴ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπ' αὐτὸν **ἴωσι** (ἴωσιν **Ath**). The same appears either in front of vowel or consonant or punctuation in 6.24 (p. 324, 19): **ἔτρεψε** (ἔτρεψεν **Ath**); 7.1 (p. 325, 3): **ναυσὶ** (ναυσὶν **Ath**); 18.20 (p. 377, 4) and 21.13 (p. 401, 4): **σφίσι** (σφίσιν **Ath**); 20.17 (p. 387, 17): **καταφεύγουσι**

[121] This characteristic does not exist in later manuscripts in the cases listed below, though it appears in other cases.

[122] See Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri*, vol. I, 114-6.

(καταφεύγουσιν **Ath**). Sometimes the opposite happens, the scribe omits the final -ν especially before punctuation: 18.28 (p. 378, 16): **εἶλε** (εἷλεν **Ath**); 20.17 (p. 387, 15): **γέγονε** (γέγονεν **Ath**); 36.18 (p. 461, 3): **ἀνδράσι** (ἀνδράσιν **Ath**).

3.4.e) VII. 7.16 (p. 327, 19-20): ...ἦν γε τὴν πόλιν ἐνδόντες ἡμῖν **ἐνθένδε** (ἐνθένδεν **Ath**) ἀπαλλάσσοιντο... The final -ν added by the scribe of **Ath** before a word which start with vowel, is very frequent: 8.7 (p. 329, 12); 10.3 (p. 337, 6); 10.12 (p. 338, 20); 10.13 (p. 338, 24); 12.20 (p. 349, 18); 18.5 (p. 374, 11); 18.24 (p. 377, 17-18); 19.31 (p. 383, 20-21); 23.12 (p. 401, 3); 27.3 (p. 417, 8); 31.5 (p. 431, 18); 38.23 (p. 470, 26); 40.14 (p. 478, 18). Rarely the word is found with the unjustified final -ν before consonant: 13.13 (p. 351, 12-13); 13.19 (p. 352, 11); 18.26 (p. 378, 3); 19.5 (p. 379, 16); 19.7 (p. 379, 27).

3.4.f) VII. 24.4 (p. 402, 12-14): λίθους ἄγχιστα πη ὄντας ξυναγαγὼν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ξυνέβαλεν, **οὐδὲν** (οὐδὲ **Ath**) τὸ παράπαν ἐντὸς ἔχοντας... Here the οὐδὲ is not correct, because it is not preceded by any other particle οὐ or οὔτε. The scribe omits the final ν, which he frequently does, but here this changes the word.

3.4.g) VIII. 1.1 (p. 487, 5-6): ... τὸ δὲ **ἐνθένδε** (ἐνθένδεν **Ath**) οὐκέτι μοι τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ξυγκείσεται. The addition of the final -ν appears in other cases of Book VIII, either before consonant: 2.8 (p. 491, 10), 9.18 (p. 528, 12), or before vowel: 5.30 (p. 508, 17); 6.18 (p. 513, 4); 7.8 (p. 517, 12); 9.28 (p. 530, 9).

We should note here that **Ath**'s idiosyncratic use of ἐθένδεν appears in parts copied by different scribes; this means that the error must have existed in the exemplar.

3.5. συν / ξυν[123]

3.5.a) V. 28.26 (p. 138, 20-21): ... ἡμᾶς δὲ τοῖς πεζοῖς ἐς τὴν παράταξιν ἡγεῖσθαι **ξυγχώρει** (συγχώρει **Ath**). Usually the Thucydidean preposition ξὺν appears as σὺν in **Ath** (συμπεπτωκέναι, συνέσει, συνεχώρει); but there are a very few cases where ξὺν appears.[124]

3.5.b) VI. 7.27 (p. 184, 9-10): ὅταν δέ οἱ τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν αὐτοῖς λελύσθαι **ξυμβαίη** (συμβαίη **Ath**, σημαίνη **K**)... Change of the

[123] Later manuscripts transmit either the one or the other variant.

[124] Haury states in the introduction of his edition that he does not consider variants of this kind, because they are very frequent, so he does not include them in his *Apparatus Criticus*.

preposition also in 9.18 (p. 192, 2-3); 14.3 (p. 209, 8); 26.23 (p. 269, 7-8); 28.1 (p. 275, 18): **ξὺν** (σὺν **Ath**).

3.5.c) VII. 6.9 (p. 322, 13-14): Ταῦτα βασιλεὺς μαθών τε καὶ ἐν **ξυμφορᾷ** (συμφορᾷ **Ath**) πεποιημένος... Also in 6.23 (p. 324, 12-13): **ξυγγενόμενος** (συγγενόμενος **Ath**); 8.15 (p. 330, 20): **ξυμφοραῖς** (συμφοραῖς **Ath**); 38.4 (p. 468, 2): **ξυμμορία** (συμμορία **Ath**); 40.2 (p. 476, 3): **ξυνδήσαντες** (συνδήσαντες **Ath**).

We should note that according to TLG there are seventy-seven (77) examples of συν and too many examples of ξυν. Haury appears to have standardised the συν to ξυν in most cases, but allowed συν in cases where the manuscript tradition was unanimous.

3.6. εἰς / ἐς

3.7.a) V. 5.1 (p. 25,4): εἰς (ἐς **Ath**).

3.6.b) VI. 9.21 (p. 192, 11-12): ὃς δὴ αἰκιζόμενος **ἐς** (εἰς **Ath**) φῶς τε ἅπαντα ἤνεγκεν...

3.6.c) VII. 13.2 (p. 349, 20): ...**ἐς** (εἰς **Ath**) πολιορκίαν καθίστατο. See also 18.9 (p. 375, 7): **ἐς**^{2} (εἰς **Ath**); 19.9 (p. 380, 5): **ἐς** (εἰς **Ath**); 20.14 (p. 386, 17): **ἐς** (εἰς **Ath**); 32.46 (p. 440, 23): **εἰς** (ἐς **Ath**).

3.6.d) VIII. 1.1 (p. 487, 7): γράμμασι γὰρ τοῖς **ἐς** (εἰς **Ath**) τὸ πᾶν δεδηλωμένοις... The interchange between the Thucydidean ἐς and the normal εἰς is frequent also in this book: 5.28 (p. 508, 10); 6.18 (p. 513, 2).

In all cases above the manuscript attestation for the forms εἰς and ἐς is confused. Since ἐς is the archaising form that was dropping out of general use, it would be possible to suggest that this was the form used by Procopius, but was likely to be replaced by the scribes with the word in more general use.

3.7. Slips of the pen (*lapsus calami*)

3.7.a) V. 20.4 (p. 103, 21-23): ἡδέως δ' ἂν καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἔτι ἐροίμεθα τούσδε, τί ποτε ἄρα **Γότθοις** (Γότθοις τοῖς δε **Ath**) ἐπικαλεῖν ἔχοντες ἡμᾶς τε αὖ καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς προὔδοσαν... The use of τοῖς δὲ is definitely wrong, because there is no μὲν before to co-ordinate with the particle δὲ. What would make sense here is the word τοῖσδε, which co-ordinates with Ῥωμαίους τούσδε immediately before

and gives emphasis and a kind of antithesis with the τούσδε. It is possible that the scribe of **Ath** found τοῖσδε in his exemplar and by mistake divided the words, rather that to have added τοῖς δὲ in the first place, which makes no sense.

3.7.b) VI. 1.12 (p. 151, 18-22): οὔτε δὲ κραυγῇ χρῆσθαι τολμήσας, ἅτε που ἐγγὺς στρατοπεδευομένων τῶν πολεμίων, οὔτε τοῦ **βόθρου** (θορύβου **Ath, c, k**) τρόπῳ ὁτῳοῦν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι οἷός τε ὢν, ἐπεὶ ἀνάβασιν οὐδαμῇ εἶχεν, αὐτοῦ διανυκτερεύειν ἠνάγκαστο. The reading of Ath comes from the transposition of a word found two lines above. Possibly the scribe of Ath wrote θορύβου which is similar palaeographically to βόθρου, because this is much more frequent in Procopius: it is used nineteen times in *Wars* as βόθρος is used only twice (here and in II 6.12 (p.175, 9). From the manuscripts copied later, only **c** and **k** agree with **Ath**.

3.7.c) VI. 19.1 (p. 232, 22-24): ... **καί οἱ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐξηγουμένῳ** (**L** : om **K**, καὶ ὡς ἐς Οὐρβίνῳ τὸ στράτευμα ἐπῆγε ἐξόδου **Ath**) Ναρσῆς τε καὶ Ἰωάννης καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ξύμπαντες εἶποντο. It is possible that the reading of **Ath** is a scribal addition or a marginal note, which was inserted into the text. But more likely it is a transposition of the phrase found two lines above: αὐτὸς δέ ἐπὶ Οὐρβίνῳ τὸ στράτευμα ἐπήγε.

3.7.d) VI. 23.2 (P. 251, 12-14): Κυπριανὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἰουστῖνον ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις καὶ **Ἰσαύρων τισὶν** (στρατεύματι ἄλλῳ **Ath**) ἐς Φισούλαν ἔπεμψε, καὶ πεντακοσίους πεζοὺς ἐκ καταλόγου... The phrase of **Ath** is found four lines below in a similar context: Μαρτῖνον δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννην ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις και στρατεύματι ἄλλῳ... So the scribe of **Ath** jumped several lines, misled by ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις (*homoioteleuton*).

3.7.e) VI. 23.28 (p. 255, 24-25): ...ἐπεὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ βύρσης τε καὶ ξύλου ὑπεράγαν λεπτοῦ, ὁ δὲ ἐκ παχέος τινὸς χαλκοῦ **πρόεισι** (πρόεισι added in dotted circle λεπτοῦ **Ath**). The addition of λεπτοῦ in **Ath** may be due to mechanical repedition from the line above. It is circled with dots in **Ath**. None of the manuscripts copied later transmit the adjective.

3.7.f) VI. 30.2 (p. 289, 7-9): ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ Ἰταλίας Βέσσαν τε καὶ Ἰωάννην ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκέλευε, καὶ Κωνσταντιανῷ ἐς Ῥαβέννην ἐκ Δαλματίας **ἐπέστελλεν** (ἐκέλευεν **Ath**) ἰέναι. Procopius often uses κελεύω ἰέναι, but here he refers to a letter.

Εκέλευεν in **Ath** is repeated from the line above. None of the later manuscripts agree with the reading of **Ath**.

3.7.g) VII. 1.32 (p. 303, 6-9): ... τὴν ἐς Θευδέριχον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Γότθων ἄρχοντας ἀδικίαν ἐπικαλῶν, ἀναγκάζων τε ἀποτιννύναι, εἴ τι ἐκείνους ἐξαπατήσαντες, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἔφασκεν, **ἐκέρδαινον** (Haury : εἰ ἐκέρδαινον **K**, ἤ ἐκέρδαινον **Ath**, ἐσύλησαν ἤ ἐκέρδαινον **L**). There is no justification for the use of **K** and **Ath**; perhaps **Ath** has a link with **L**. I agree that the correct reading must be what Haury emends. The error must have begun from a previous manuscript, which transmitted εἴ ἐκέρδαινον as the hypothetical εἴ found several words before, goes to ἐκέρδαινον. **Ath** (with a spelling mistake) and **K** copied the same error. The reading of **L** with ἐσύλησαν may have originated from a marginal note referring to the context.

3.7.h) VII. 17.16 (p. 372, 5-8): τελευτῶντες δὲ, ἐπεὶ οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατιῶται σῖτον οὐκ εἶχον, ὅνπερ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις **ἀπόδωνται** (**K** pr. m. : ἀπόδονται **K** corr., ἀπόδονται εἶχον **L**, ἀπέδοντο εἶχον **Ath**), πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι τῷ Βέσσᾳ ὀλίγος ἔτι ἐλέλειπτο... The readings of **L** and **Ath** are similar, but they are wrong, because the verb εἶχον appears just before. The subjunctive is necessary for the syntax.

3.7.i) VII. 24.20 (p. 404, 25-26): καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ὑποχωρούντων διώκοντες τῶν **Ῥωμαίων** (βαρβάρων **Ath**) τινὲς... Repetition of the preceding βαρβάρων.

3.7.j) VII. 40.33 (p. 481, 22-24): ...οὗτοι ἀνήκεστα ἐν Εὐρώπῃ τῇ ὅλῃ ἔργα εἰργάσαντο, **οὐκ** (ἔργα οὐκ **Ath**) ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ληϊζόμενοι τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία... The addition is due to the repedition of the same word appears before.

3.7.k) VIII. 6.20 (p. 513, 21-22): ...ὅπερ πολλάκις ἐνταῦθα φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, ἀναστρέφει μὲν τὰ πλοῖα ταῦτα εὐθὺς **ἔνθεν** (ὅπερ ἐνθένδεν **Ath**) ὥρμηται... The reading of most manuscripts is correct, because the meaning is "...in the direction from which they have started". **Ath** takes the phrase from above.

3.7.l) VIII. 7.10 (p. 517, 21-24): ...ἀλλὰ καθίζεσθαι οὐ μὴ ποτὲ οἷός τε εἴη ἐν μέσῳ Ῥωμαίων, **ὀχυρωμάτων** (ὀχυρωμάτων ὀπίσω **Ath**) τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπολελειμμένων ὀπίσω πολλῶν. The added word is a transposition from the line below.

3.7.m) VIII. 8.35 (p. 524, 14-16): ...ἑνός τε θανάτῳ ἀνδρὸς ἥ τε μάχη ἐκλίθη καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἡ **νίκη** (μάχη **Ath**) ἐχώρει... The scribe of **Ath** repeats the word from the preceding line.

3.7.n) VIII. 8.36 (p. 524, 19-21): ...ἐλπίδα ἔχοντες αἱρήσειν αὐτοβοεὶ τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων **στρατόπεδον** (χαράκωμα **Ath**). The word "camp" of most manuscripts is necessary; **Ath** just repeats the word from two lines above.

3.8. Inversion of the order of words

There are not many inversions of the order of the words in **Ath**. The following transpositions, which do not occur in later manuscripts, do not appear in particular syntactical positions.

3.8.a) VI. 3.12 (p. 161, 13-14): ...Ῥωμαίων οὐδένα **τῆς ξυμβολῆς ἀπολείψεσθαι** (ἀπολείψεσθαι τῆς ξυμβολῆς **Ath**) ὑποσχόμενοι.

3.8.b) VI. 7.35 (p.185, 11-13): Ὑπό δέ τόν αὐτὸν χρόνον ὅ τε Μεδιολάνων ἱερεὺς Δάτιος καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν **ἄνδρες δόκιμοι** (δόκιμοι ἄνδρες **Ath**) ἐς Ῥώμην ἀφικόμενοι...

3.8.c) VI. 11.16 (p. 198,26 - 199,1): ... ἐπεὶ τῶν πολεμίων **οὐδενὸς ἐπιτυγχάνειν** (ἐπιτυγχάνειν οὐδενὸς **Ath**) οἱοί τε ἦσαν...

3.8.d) VI. 16.22 (p. 223, 14-18): αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ τῷ στόλῳ Ἰλδίγερ ἐφειστήκει, ᾧ δὴ εὐθὺ Ἀριμίνου Βελισάριος ἐπέστελλε πλεῖν, **φυλασσομένῳ ὅπως** (**K** : ὅπως φυλασσομένῳ **Ath**, φυλασσομένους **L**) μὴ μακρὰν ἀπολελειμμένου τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ καταίρειν ἐς τὴν ἐκείνῃ ἀκτὴν ἐγχειρήσωσιν.

3.8.e) VI. 20.13 (p. 238, 5-7): ... ὅμως τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ παρὰ δόξαν ἀντεῖχον, ἥκιστα μὲν τροφῆς κόρον ἐρχόμενοι, ὅσον **δὲ μὴ** (μὴ δὲ **Ath**) λιμῷ ἀποθνήσκειν... The inversion of the words by **Ath** is not correct. This phrase is frequent in Procopius: IV.12.16 (p. 472, 19-20): ὅπως δὲ μὴ κατὰ κορυφὴν ὑμᾶς οἱ πολέμιοι βάλλωσι; VI.29.17 (p. 284, 25-26): δεδιότες ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ὅπως δὲ μὴ δοῦλοι βασιλέως γενόμενοι

3.8.f) VI. 20.32 (p. 240, 19-21): ὄρνις μέντοι αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς ἥπτετο, οἷοι πολλοὶ **σιτίζεσθαι πεφύκασι** (πεφύκασι σιτίζεσθαι **Ath**) νεκροῖς σώμασιν, ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἶχον οὐδὲν ὅτου ἔφειντο. The scribe of

Ath follows the normal structure, verb + infinitive, and this is found usually in the end of the sentence.

3.8.g) VI. 23.23 (p. 255, 10-11): ἡνίκα **ταῦτα ἐδόκει** (ἐδόκει ταῦτα **Ath**) τῷ στρατηγῷ ὡς ἄριστα ἔχειν.

3.8.h) VI. 28.12 (p. 277, 12-14): ἄλλως τε, ἢν **μὲν τὰ** (τὰ μὲν **Ατη**) ὅπλα ξὺν ἡμῖν ἔλησθε, οὐδεμία λελήψεται Ῥωμαίοις ἐλπὶς... The inversion of the words by **Ath** is wrong. In this case there are two hypotheses (ἢν μὲν τα ὅπλα ... ἢν δὲ γὲ ξὺν Ῥωμαίοις..., if on the one hand..., if on the other...); what is contrasted here is not the ὅπλα, so the μὲν is not justified to be after ὅπλα but after ἢν as it is in the second possibility (ἢν δὲ...).

3.8.i) VII. 1.7 (p. 299, 2-4): οὕτω δὲ **πρᾷόν τε καὶ εὐπρόσοδον** (**K** : καὶ εὐπρόσοδος πρᾶον τε **L**, εὐπρόσοδον πρᾶον τε **Ath**) παρεῖχεν ἑαυτὸν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι ὥστε ἀνθρώπῳ πένητί τε λίαν καὶ ἀδόξῳ ἐμφερὴς εἶναι.

3.8.j) VII. 1.31 (p. 302, 23-24): ψαλίδιον γὰρ τοῦτο καλοῦσι τὸ ὄργανον, **ὅτῳ τις τὰ τοιαῦτα** (**K** : ᾧ ταῦτά τις **L**, ᾧ τὰ ταῦτά τις **Ath**) ἐργάζεται.

3.8.k) VII. 11.18 (p. 343, 4-6): ἔνθα Ναζάρης ... στρατιωτῶν τε τῶν ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς ἀρξων, ἔργα θαυμαστὰ **ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους πάντων μάλιστα** (πάντων μάλιστα ἐς τοῦς πολεμίους **Ath**) ἐπεδείξατο.

3.8.l) VII. 14.18 (p. 356, 11-12): ...ὡς εἴη μὲν **καὶ αὐτὸς Ἄντης** (**K** : ἄν τις καὶ αὐτὸς **L**, ἄντης καὶ αὐτὸς **Ath**) τὸ γένος...

3.8.m) VII. 18.13 (p. 375, 21-23): ἐρομένου δὲ αὐτὸν Ἰωάννου, τί δε οὐκ ἀπολούμενος **συνοίσειν ποτε** (ποτὲ συνοίσειν **Ath**) Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ αὐτῷ μέλλει... Change in order of words also in 25.2 (p. 407, 21-22): **ἐξελεῖν Περυσίαν** (Περυσίαν ἐξελεῖν **Ath**); 31.21 (p. 430, 11): **πράσσειν εἰώθει** (εἰώθει πράσσειν **Ath**); 32.3 (p. 434, 2-3) and 33.51 (p. 441, 17): **εἰργάσατο οὐδὲν** (οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο **Ath**); 33.6 (p. 443, 1): **χρυσοῦ κύριον** (κύριον χρυσοῦ **Ath**); 34.10 (p. 446, 15): **φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν** (ἀπαγωγὴν φόρου **Ath**); 36.8 (p. 459, 17): **πλοῖα μακρὰ** (μακρὰ πλοῖα **Ath**).

3.8.n) VII. 29.21 (p. 426, 5-9): ...ἐπεὶ Ῥωμαίους τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Ῥουσκιανῆς φρουρίῳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑποσπανίζειν ἐπύθετο, ἐξαιρήσειν αὐτοὺς οἰόμενος ὅτι τάχιστα, **ἢν μή τι ἐσκομίζεσθαι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων** (ἢ μέντοι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων

ἐσκομίζεσθαι **Ath**) οἱοί τε ὦσιν, ἐστρατοπεδεύσατό τε ὡς ἀγχωτάτω...

3.8.o) VIII. 4.12 (p. 502, 18): ...ἔγνωσαν δὲ ὡς καὶ Ἀβασγοῖς **ἱερέα βασιλεὺς** (βασιλεὺς ἱερέα **Ath**) πέμψειε... Other cases of inversion in this book: 12.32 (p. 552, 2-3): ...καὶ διεφθαρμένου ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον **Ῥωμαίων τοῦ γένους** (τοῦ Ῥωμαίων γένους **Ath**); 13.28 (p. 557, 1-3): ...καὶ ἥσσους οἰόμενοι εἶναι ἢ φέρειν **τῶν ἐπιόντων τὴν** (τὴν τῶν ἐπιόντων **Ath**) δύναμιν ἐς τὰς σφίσι παρασκευασμένας ἀκάτους.

3.9. Additions of words and phrases

The additions and the omissions of words is the one of the most frequent characteristics of **Ath**. Mostly small words, articles, particles or prepositions are added or omitted, which do not always affect the syntax, or the meaning of a sentence. At times whole phrases are inserted in the text, which are usually intrusions from marginal notes (glosses or explanations related to the context).

In this category, the readings have been separated according to the kind of addition, namely, if it is an article, particle or preposition, or whether the addition is a transposition or an interpolation. The examples in each of the subcategories are set out by book.

3.9.1. Articles

3.9.1.a) V. 22.22 (p. 112, 6-10): ... χρόνον μέν τινα ὀλίγον ἔκπληξις τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἐλπίδα καθ' ὅ τι χρὴ ἀμυνομένους σωθῆναι, **μετὰ δὲ** (μετὰ δε τοῦ **Ath**) ξυμφρονήσαντες τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τὰ πλεῖστα, λίαν μεγάλα ὄντα, διέφθειρον... The addition of the article is inadvertent; it is not suitable before the participle. Unnecessary additions of articles appear in Book V in the following cases:

22.22 (p. 112, 8-12): ... μετὰ δὲ ξυμφρονήσαντες τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τὰ πλεῖστα, λίαν μεγάλα ὄντα, διέφθειρον, αἴροντες **τε** (τε τους **Ath**) λίθους περιπληθεῖς ἐνθένδε χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις κατὰ κορυφὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐρρίπτουν...

23.19 (p. 116, 4-6): ... διελόντες τὸν τοῖχον, ἐντὸς Βιβαρίου ἐγένοντο, Κυπριανὸν **ξὺν** (ξὺν τοῖς **Ath**) ἄλλοις τισὶ κατὰ τάχος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐσβιβάσας ἔργου ἐκέλευεν ἔχεσθαι.

27.24 (p. 133, 13-15): καὶ τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις δεινόν τε καὶ τύχης ἐναντίωμα παντάπασι ἐδόκει εἶναι, **εἰ** (εἰ οἱ **Ath**) πολλοί τε ὄντες πρὸς ὀλίγων πολεμίων ἐπιόντων σφίσιν ἡσσῶνται...

29.11 (p. 140, 25-141, 2): εὔδηλόν τε ὡς, ἢν **μετὰ** (μετα τὴν **Ath**) τούτων ὑμεῖς τῶν λογισμῶν τήνδε τὴν ξυμβολὴν διενέγκητε, ῥᾷστα μέν τοὺς ἐναντίους νικήσετε...

3.9.1.b) VI. 13.1 (p. 205, 24-25): Βελισάριος δὲ ἀμφὶ θερινὰς τροπὰς ἐπὶ τε Οὐίττιγιν καὶ **τὸ** (τὸ τῶν **Ath**) Γότθων στρατόπεδον ᾔει ... It seems that an article to define τὸ Γότθων seems more natural to the scribe. Articles are added in Book VI in:

18.27 (p. 232, 4-5): ... γράμματα βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἔδειξεν, ἃ πρὸς **τοὺς** (τοὺς τοῦ **Ath**) στρατοπέδου ἄρχοντας ἐγραψεν.

20.18 (p. 238, 22-23): διὸ ἐκλιπόντες τὰ οἰκεῖα **ταύτῃ** (οἱ ταύτῃ **Ath**) ἄνθρωποι ἐς Πικηνὸν ἦλθον ...

27.16 (p. 272, 12-14): **καὶ** (καὶ ἡ **Ath**) τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἄνδρες ἑπτὰ ὑπό τε Ναρσῇ καὶ Ἀρατίῳ τασσόμενοι ἔργα ἐπεδείξαντο ἀρετῆς ἄξια...

30.18 (p. 291, 16-17): ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον **Γότθους** (τοὺς Γότθους **Ath**) ἅπαντας ξυγκαλέσας ἔλεξεν τοιάδε...

3.9.1.c) VII. 13.6 (p. 350, 16): ...κἀν ταῖς νήσοις **ταῖς** (ταῖς τοῦ **Ath**) Αἰόλου καλουμέναις... Additions of unnecessary articles appear in the following cases:

12.16 (p. 349, 1-2): ...αὐτὸν τε **καὶ** (καὶ τὸ **Ath**) Σπολίτιον Γότθοις ἐνδοῦναι.

12.20 (p. 349, 16-17): οὐδὲν δὲ ἧσσον οἱ Κυπριανοῦ στρατιῶται **βασιλεῖ** (τῷ βασιλεῖ **Ath**) τὴν πόλιν ἐφύλασσον...

13.20 (p. 352, 17-18): ...Νάρσου ἀδελφὸν **ξὺν** (ξὺν τῷ **Ath**) στρατῷ ἔπεμψε βαρβάρων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν.

14.14 (p. 355, 20-21): εἶναι γὰρ ἐν **τῷ** (τῷ τῶν **Ath**) Σκλαβηνῶν ἔθνει Χιλβούδιον...

19.27 (p. 383, 1): ὑποτοπήσαντες **ἀμφὶ** (τῶν ἀμφὶ **Ath**) τὸν Ισαάκην ὄπισθεν εἶναι...

30.6 (p. 427, 11): Μασαγέτην **γένος** (τὸ γένος **Ath**)

36.25 (p. 462, 8): **ἐς** (ἐς τὸ **Ath**) Βυζάντιον, οὗτος **ἀνὴρ** (ὁ ἀνὴρ **Ath**).

3.9.1.d) VIII. 6.4 (p. 510, 3-4): ...ὁ μὲν Τάναϊς ποταμὸς **ἐν** (ἐν τῇ **Ath**) γῇ τῆς Εὐρώπης τικτόμενος... Articles are added in the following cases:

6.10 (p. 511, 15): ...ἀλλὰ **περὶ** (περὶ τοῦ **Ath**) ποταμοῦ τε καὶ τῆς χώρας

8.35 (p. 524, 11-12): ὑφ' ὅτου μέντοι οὗτος **ἀνὴρ** (ὁ ἀνήρ **Ath**) βληθείη...

13.15 (p. 555, 7): ...**τοῖς** (τοῖς τῆς **Ath**) Ἰβηρίας ὁρίοις

14.44 (p. 564, 13-14): ...οὕτω **τε** (τε τῷ **Ath**) λιμῷ καὶ ἀσθενείᾳ πιεζομένους πολλῇ διεφθάρθαι.

3.9.2. Particles

3.9.2.a) V. 23.17 (p. 115. 18-20): Οὐίττιγις μὲν οὖν μηχανὰς τε ἄλλας ἄλλῃ τοῦ τείχους ἡτοίμαζε καὶ ὀρύσσειν τὸ ἔξω **τείχισμα** (τείχισμα καὶ **Ath**) τοὺς Γότθους ἐκέλευε... An inadvertent addition, as in 29.12 (p. 141, 7-9): ...οἱ δὲ θρασύνονται καθ' ἡμῶν τοῖς ἡμετέροις κακοῖς ἐπαρθέντες, **καὶ** (καὶ οὐ **Ath**) μόνον ἐφόδιον ἔχοντες τὴν ἡμετέραν ὀλιγωρίαν.

3.9.2.b) VI. 15.7 (p. 215, 19-20): μησὶ δὲ οὐχ ἧσσον **ἢ** (ἢ καὶ **Ath**) ἐξ ὕστερον ἀμφὶ τὰς χειμερινάς που τροπάς... The addition of καὶ makes no sense here. After the comparative particle ἤ, the second part of the comparison follows and sometimes is introduced by καὶ. But this is unsuitable here. Another addition of the same particle appears in 26.16 (p. 268, 7-10): Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οὐδέν τι ἧσσον ἀχθόμενοι, ὅτι δὴ ἐν χώρᾳ ἐρήμῳ μακρὰν οὕτω προσεδρείαν πεποίηνται, **διηποροῦντο** (καὶ διηποροῦντο **Ath**) ... The connective particle is not suitable here, because it would connect two different things: the participle ἀχθόμενοι and the verb διηποροῦντο.

3.9.2.c) VII. 5.14 (p. 320, 2-4): ἀλλὰ **τύχῃ** (**K** : τύχῃ γε **L**, τύχῃ δὲ **Ath**) τινὶ ξυνέβη ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον φήμην οὐκ ἀληθῆ περιφέρεσθαι... I believe that the particle added in **Ath** is not correct, because there is no opposition or co-ordination with μέν. As ἀλλὰ is in the beginning of the sentence, a γε or δὲ is not permissible; there is no such usage in Procopius. Additions od particles appear in the same book also in the following cases:

6.20 (p. 324, 1-4): ... καὶ τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν ἔργων τε καὶ κινδύνων ἀκριβῶς ἔμπειρος, πλεύσας δὲ ξὺν Βελισαρίῳ ἔς τε Λιβύην καὶ Ἰταλίαν **ἐγένετο** (ἐγένετο δὲ **Ath**) ἐς ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν δόκιμος... The added δὲ in **Ath** is not suitable, because it would leave the sentence which begins with πλεύσας δὲ without the main verb. It may have been added due to attraction from the previous one.

9.13 (p. 334, 19-20): ...ὁποίων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐτύχετε **ξένων** (ξένων τε **Ath**) καὶ φίλων ἐπίστασθε δὴ που, εἴ τι τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου μέμνησθε λογισμῶν. I believe that the particle is suitable here; the τε

καὶ is very frequently used by Procopius, when two words with the same syntactical level are used.

13.23 (p. 353, 3-5): ...καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πορείᾳ ξυνέβη τις τύχη μεγάλα Ῥωμαίους **ἀγαθὰ** (καὶ ἀγαθὸς **Ath**) ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου ἐργάσασθαι. The masculine of the adjective does not refer to any existing word in the text.

34.17 (p. 447, 18-19): οὐχ ὕβρισαν **εἰς** (εἰς οὐχ **Ath**) οὓς ἥκιστα ἐχρῆν; I believe that this is just a repetition of the first οὐχ. The second appearance of the negative particle is absolutely unjustified.

3.9.2.d) VIII. 5.10 (p. 505, 1-2): ...Βανδίλων **μὲν** (μὲν οὖν **Ath**) ἤδη ἐνθένδε ἀναστάντων ἐπὶ τε Λιβύης ἱδρυσαμένων... In Book VIII particles are added also in the following cases:
5.24 (p. 507, 17-19): καίτοι ... γεγονέναι **φασὶ** (φασὶ και **Ath**) Σκύθας τε τηνικάδε...καλεῖσθαι...;
6.14 (p. 512, 7-8): ...καὶ ὁρίσματα αὐτῇ Νεῖλός **τε** (τε καὶ **Ath**) ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ποταμὸς...
6.20 (p. 513, 9-10): ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Σταγειρίτης Ἀριστοτέλης, **σοφὸς** (καὶ σοφὸς **Ath**) ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα...
10.8 (p. 532, 15-16): ...καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ **τοῦ** (δὲ τοῦ **Ath**) πατρὸς ὀκνήσει οὐδεμιᾷ ἐς εὐνῆν συνιών
14.39 (p. 563, 14): 14-15): ...γυνή τις ἐν πόλει βρέφος ἐκύει τὰ **μὲν** (μέν οὖν **Ath**) ἄλλα ἐπιεικῶς ἀνθρωπόμορφον...

3.9.3. Prepositions

3.9.3.a) VI. 20.14 (p. 238, 8-10): ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαντα σφᾶς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπελελοίπει, δέρρεις τε καὶ διφθέρας ὕδατι βρέχοντες **πολύν** (εἰς in dotted circle πολύν **Ath**) τινα χρόνον εἶτα ἤσθιον. There is an addition in the manuscript, which is circled with dots. The addition of the preposition εἰς going with χρόνον is not justified, because according to Procopius' usage the phrase πολὺς χρόνος is never accompanied by εἰς. The preposition is not transmitted by later manuscripts.

3.9.3.b) VI. 27.26 (p. 274, 1-2): ...σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ φρούριον **ὁμολογίᾳ** (ἐν ὁμολογίᾳ **Ath**) παρέδοσαν. The phrase παραδιδόναι ὁμολογίᾳ means "surrender something in accordance with their will". The preposition ἐν is not justified here. The same phrase is used by Procopius elsewhere (II.17.27 (p. 227, 21); V.5.16 (p. 27, 15); VI.11.19 (p. 199, 9) where it is transmitted correctly by **Ath**.

3.9.3.c) VI. 28.23 (p. 279, 16-18): ...Βελισάριος δὲ οὐδὲν τι ἧσσον ἐφύλασσε τοῦ μὴ **τοὺς** (ἐς τοὺς **Ath**) βαρβάρους τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομίζεσθαι. The addition of the preposition here is unnecessary, because the τοὺς βαρβάρους is the object of ἐφύλασσε ("Belisarius was on his guard lest the barbarians..."). The barbarians are not the destination of the ἐσκομίζεσθαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.

3.9.3.d) VII. 11.22 (p. 343, 22): ...μόνος δὲ αὐτὸς **τὸν** (εἰς τὸν **Ath**) ἵππον ἐξελάσας κατὰ τάχος ἦει. The εἰς is wrong. In other cases the phrase is transmitted correctly by **Ath**; e.g. II 4.21 (p. 316, 13-14): τὸν ἵππον ἐξελάσας πρὸ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ ἐν μεταιχμίῳ ἔστη; III 31.11 (p. 653, 2-3): τὸν ἵππον ἐξελάσας, ἄγχιστα ἦλθε τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ.

3.9.3.e) VII. 11.34 (p. 345, 20-21): ...ἔν τε τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ γενομένους **ὅσα** (ὅσα περὶ **Ath**) τοῦ περιβόλου κατεπεπτώκει... The scribe is not aware of the syntax of the verb καταπίπτω with genitive, so he adds the preposition περὶ, which goes with genitive.

3.9.3.f) VII. 12.13 (p. 348, 15-16): Ἡρωδιανὸς μὲν οὖν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς λόγους ἦλθεν, ἐφ' ᾧ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας **ἡσυχῇ μείνωσιν** (ἐν ἡσυχῇ μείνουσιν **Ath**). This is an expression used frequently by Procopius.[125] The preposition is unnecessary. The subjunctive is necessary for the relative secondary clause.

3.9.3.g) VII. 19.3 (p. 379, 8-9): ...πύργον ξύλινον ἐπ' αὐταῖς ἐτεκτήνατο, πολλῷ καθυπέρτερον τὸν **τοῖς** (ἐν τοῖς **Ath**) πολεμίοις ἐν τῇ γεφύρᾳ πεποιημένον. Certainly the preposition ἐν is unsuitable here. The dative of the agent goes with the perfect participle ("the bridge made by enemies") needs no ἐν.

[125] Eg., I.23.19 (p. 121, 19); II.29, 36 (p. 295, 6); VII.30.14 (p.428, 21).

3.9.4. Interpolation / Glosses[126]

3.9.4.a) VI. 4.3 (p. 164, 27-p. 165, 1): ... ἥξειν τε ξὺν αὐτοῖς τὸν σῖτον παρακομίζοντι ἐς Ὀστίαν, **ὅθι** (ὅτι **Ath**, ὅτι τάχος **L**) τὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐπίνειον. **Ath changes the rarely used adverb ὅθι (note that this is the only occurence in all of Procopius' works) to the more frequent ὅτι, by just changing the consonant. Of course, the ὅτι makes no sense in the context. We must notice again the link between Ath and L.**

3.9.4.b) VI. 7.8 (p. 181, 1-3): ...διὰ τοῦ Τιβέριδος **ἐς Ῥώμην** (ἐς Ῥώμην ἤθελον ἀγαγεῖν. καὶ δὴ **L**, ἐς Ῥώμην καὶ δὴ **Ath**) πνεῦμα τηρήσαντες σφίσιν ἐπίφορον ἐναυτίλλοντο... **The reading of Ath is unsuitable, although it emphasises with the addition of δὴ but on the other hand, the participle τηρήσαντες shows time, so it does not allow either the connective καὶ (because of the participle), or the emphatic particle δὴ and especially in this position. The reading of L is interesting. By adding a verb and the phrase καὶ δὴ after a pause, the syntax is correct.**

3.9.4.c) VI. 27.31 (p. 274,24-275,4): οἵ τε στρατιῶται οὐκ εἴων συγχωρεῖν τοῖς βαρβάροις τὰ χρήματα, **τραύματα μὲν πολλὰ** (**K** : οὕτω τραύματα μέν πολλὰ **Ath**, οὕτω μὲν πολλὰ τραύματα **L**) ἐνδεικνύμενοι ... πόνους δὲ πάντας ἀπαριθμοῦντες... **The use of οὕτω could be justified, "so many wounds", as it is the attempt of the soldiers not to concede their properties to the enemy, by displaying the wounds and recounting the struggles.**

3.9.4.d) VII. 17.6 (p, 370, 8-9): καὶ χορηγεῖτε τοῖς ὑμετέροις αἰχμαλώτοις τροφὴν **οὐ** (οὐκ ἀρκοῦσαν οὐδὲ **L**, οὐκ ἄγουσιν οὐδὲ **Ath**) κατὰ τὴν χρείαν ἡμῖν ἀποχρῶσαν, ἀλλ' ὥστε ἀποζῆν διαρκῶς ἔχουσαν... **First of all the construction οὐ ... ἀλλὰ is necessary and the οὐδὲ ... ἀλλὰ of Ath is wrong. The reading of L may be more plausible than the one of K, because it is correct as regards the syntax and the context and it is more emphatic. As for the different verb transmitted by Ath, it may come from a marginal note.**

3.9.4.e) VII. 24.15 (p. 404, 2-3): **ἔπειτα** (**K** : ἔπειτα δε ξυνεσκόταζεν ἤδη **Ath**, ἐπεί τε ξυνεσκόταζεν ἤδη **L**) οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις γενόμενοι ἐνυκτέρευσαν... **The correct reading is that of K; the readings of L and Ath may be coming**

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[126] **In this case the possible intrusion of marginal notes in the text is in the style of additions rather than change of words or phrases, which are listed below in 3.17.5, pp. 126-9.**

from a marginal note (ξυνεσκόταζεν ἤδη), which intruded into the text in a previous manuscript, common exemplar of **L** and **Ath.**[127]

3.9.4.f) VII. 24.4 (p. 402, 15-17): ...ἐπεὶ οὔτε **τίτανον** (τίτανον κονία ἄσβεστος καταχρηστικῶς δὲ καὶ γύψος **Ath**) εἶχεν οὔτε τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὅπως μόνον τὸ τῆς οἰκοδομίας σώζοιτο πρόσωπον... Certainly the addition of **Ath** is a marginal note, explaining the meaning of the word τίτανος which intruded into the text either while **Ath** was being copied or in a previous manuscript. There are two other cases where the word τίτανος appears and Procopius himself explains its meaning: VI.27.21 (p. 273, 8-9): ἦν πάλαι μὲν τίτανον, ταυῦν δὲ ἄσβεστον καλεῖν νενομίκασιν; Build. I.I.53 (p. 13, 25-26): συνήρμοσε δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐ τίτανος, ἥνπερ ἄσβεστον ὀνομάζουσιν, οὐκ ἄσφαλτος... In all other cases there is no explanation when the word appears.

3.9.4.g) VII. 32.47 (p. 441, 3-5): ταύτῃ τε τὸν βασιλέως θυμὸν ἐπὶ μέγα ἐξῆρον, ἀλλοτρίας αὐτῷ χαριεῖσθαι συμφορὰς **ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοντες** (ἀνθρώπων ἔχοντες ἐν σπουδῇ **Ath**). The genitive possessive ἀνθρώπων of **Ath** is correct in meaning ("other men's misfortunes") but it is superflouous as the meaning without the genitive ἀνθρώπων is perfectly clear; besides the order of the words is not correct.

3.9.4.h) VIII. 5.15 (p. 505, 24-25): ...τοῦς μὲν κτείναντες, τοὺς δὲ, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, **ἐξαναστήσαντες** (ἐνθένδεν ἐξαναστήσαντες **Ath**) τὴν χώραν ἔσχον. The only possibility is that this addition is an interpolation. Perhaps the added word was included in an explanatory marginal note and it intruded into the text by mistake.

3.9.4.i) VIII. 8.26 (p. 522, 24-25): ...τῶν Περσῶν ἕνα, ψυχῆς τε ἀρετῇ καὶ σώματος ἀλκῇ ἐπιεικῶς **μέγαν** (μέγαν κεχωμένον **Ath**), τῷ δόρατι εὐθὺς ἔκτεινεν... As for its meaning and its case, the participle is not wrong. But it cannot go with the following dative: the correct should be κεχωμένον τὸ δόρυ. Perhaps the participle intruded from a marginal note.

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[127] However, similar phrases appear frequently in Procopius: II.17.17 (p. 226, 16): τότε μὲν οὖν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησαν· ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ξυνεσκόταζε; VI.12.4 (p. 200, 12-13): τότε μὲν ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, ἐπεὶ καὶ ξυνεσκόταζεν ἤδη; VIII.35.31 (p. 676, 12-14): ἐπειδὴ δὲ ξυνεσκόταζεν, αὐτοῦ ἑκάτεροι διαλυθέντες ἐν τῇ τῶν ὅπλων σκευῇ ἐνυκτέρευσαν.

3.9.4.j) VIII. 11.20 (p. 538, 6-7): Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ περιβόλου **τὸ κατασεισθὲν** (**L** : τοῦ κατασεισθέντος καὶ θεμένου **K**, τοῦ κατασεισθέντος καὶ θυμένοντος **Ath**) αὖθις ἑστηκὸς εἶδον, διηποροῦντό τε καὶ ἀμηχανίᾳ πολλῇ εἴχοντο. The genitive of **K** and **Ath** is possibly due to attraction from the previous genitive. However, the second participle, makes no sense. Perhaps it was in a marginal note of a previous manuscript.

3.9.4.k) VIII. 12.8 (p. 548, 7-8): ...καὶ πρὸς τὸν βίον ἐνδιαθρυπτομένους τε καὶ **βλακεύοντας** (μοραίνοντας καὶ βλακεύοντας **Ath**) ἐλεεῖν ἀξιοῦμεν... Perhaps the first participle was a gloss in a marginal note in a previous manuscript and finally intruded into the text.

3.10. Omissions of words and phrases

This is the commonest feature of **Ath**; the scribe very frequently omits words, mostly particles and articles and small phrases. As in the case of the additions mentioned above, the omissions, too, in most cases do not affect either the syntax or the meaning, for they are mostly emphatic words. Omissions are especially liable to occur with short words. Regarding the later manuscripts, which have been examined, the omissions listed below do not appear in any of them. There are indeed other omissions to be observed in later manuscripts but none show quite the number found in **Ath**. Therefore this is a special characteristic of **Ath**. This group has been divided into two subcategories: the omissions, which affect the syntax, and those which do not, which as mentioned above are much more.

3.10.1. Omissions, which affect the syntax

3.10.1.a) V. 22.14 (p. 110, 14-17): τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τάφον οἱ παλαιοὶ ἄνθρωποι (ἐδόκει γαὰ τῇ πόλει ἐπιτείχισμα εἶναι) **τειχίσμασι** (om. **Ath**, ἐπιτειχίσμασι **L**) δύο ἐς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου διήκουσι περιβάλλουσι καὶ μέρος εἶναι τοῦ τείχους πεποίηνται. **Ath** omits a word, which is very important. The scribe may be confused, because he did not realise that the sentence ἐδόκει ... εἶναι is a parenthetic one. He therefore omitted the word τειχίσμασι as it already existed before.

3.10.1.b) V.26.11 (p. 129, 3-6): ἐπειδάν οὖν οἱ ἔμποροι ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς τὸν λιμένα ἀφίκωνται, **ἅραντες** (ἄραν **Ath**) τὰ φορτία ἐνθένδε καὶ ταῦτα ἐνθέμενοι ἐν ταῖς βάρεσι, πλέουσι διὰ τοῦ Τιβέριδος ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην... it is an inadvertent error by the scribe of Ath; he

simply does not complete the ending of the participle. The participle ἄραντες is necessary. As the connective particle connects syntactically related words, and as the second part of the sentence has the participle ἐνθέμενοι, the second part should have participle as well. In addition there is a main verb in the sentence (πλέουσι) and another verb is not necessary. The two participles are presuppositions for the verb, that is why they are in past tense and the verb in present: "when they unloaded... and placed..., they sail...". The same omission of the ending in VII. 9.17 (p. 335, 8-11): καίτοι πῶς οὐκ ἂν τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων δόξειεν εἶναι τὸν μὲν θεὸν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτοὺς **τίννυσθαι** (τίννυ **Ath**), ὑμᾶς δὲ τῇ τούτων ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν ἀτοπίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν οὐκ ἐθέλειν ἀπηλλάχθαι κακῶν; 19.23 (p. 382, 13): ...ὡς νικῴη μὲν Βελισάριος, **ἀνέλοιτο** (ἀνέλοι **Ath**) δὲ τὴν ἄλυσιν... There is of course a possiblility that the above omissions of endings are due to abbreviations in the exemplar.

3.10.1.c) V.27.26 (p. 133, 22-27): ὥστε **ἢν** (**K** : εἰ **L**, om. **Ath**) κατὰ λόγον τῆς δυνάμεως τὰς ξυμβολὰς ποιοίη, οὐδὲν ἂν τῇ σφετέρᾳ ὀλιγανθρωπίᾳ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων λυμήνασθαι πλῆθος. The conditional cannot be omitted; it is absolutely necessary, because the main sentence follows ("if he should fight... the multitudes could inflict..."). Perhaps the scribe is confused by the ὥστε before the conditional conjunction.

3.10.1.d) VI. 16.1 (p. 220, 5-6): Βελισάριος δὲ **καὶ Ναρσῆς** (om. **Ath**) ξὺν ἀμφοτέροις στρατεύμασιν ἀλλήλοις ἀνεμίγνυντο ἀμφὶ πόλιν Φόρμιον... The second name is necessary not only for the context but also for the syntax, as the word ἀλλήλοις and the verb in plural indicate.

3.10.1.e) VI. 24.13 (p. 259, 8-11): μάλιστα δὲ ἁπάντων ὁ λιμὸς αὐτὸν ξυνετάρασσεν, οὐκ ἔχοντα ὅθεν **ἂν** (om. **Ath**) τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πορίζηται. The ἂν is necessary, because the ὅθεν-clause is hypothetical.

3.10.1.f) VI. 27.3 (p. 270, 14-15): διαφθεῖραι γοῦν ἐθέλων τὴν δεξαμενὴν **ἐπενόει τάδε** (om. **Ath**). ἐξοπλίσας τὸ στράτευμα ὅλον... If the phrase is omitted, there is no syntactical error, stylistically however the phrase is necessary, because then we have: "wishing to destroy the cistern, he armed his whole army...". But the ἐπενόει τάδε should be included, as Procopius often introduces a plan in this way.

3.10.1.g) VI. 27.14 (p. 272, 7-8): ...καὶ χεῖρα **τὴν** (om. **Ath**) δεξιάν προβαλλόμενος ἔσωσε μὲν τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐκ τοῦ παραδόξου... The article is necessary because it indicates a particular hand, τὴν δεξιὰν. The adjectives for the hands (ἀριστερὰν or δεξιὰν) are always preceded by articles. The same phrase appears correctly in 19.16 (p. 235, 4-5): ...οἱ μὲν οὖν βάρβαροι χεῖρας τὰς δεξιὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπάλξεων προτεινόμενοι...

3.10.1.h) VI. 28.23 (p. 279, 12-16): Οὐίττιγις δὲ ξὺν Γότθων τοῖς ἀρίστοις πολλὰ κοινολογησάμενος τάς τε πρὸς βασιλέα ξυνθήκας εἵλετο καὶ ἀπράκτους ἀπεπέμψατο **τοὺς Γερμανῶν πρέσβεις. καὶ τὸ** (**K** : φράγγους. καὶ τὸ **L**, om. **Ath**) λοιπὸν Γότθοι μὲν καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο ἤδη... The reading of **L** is not wrong; the national names Γερμανοὶ and Φράγγοι were used alternatively by Procopius (in 28.9 the speech of the envoys of Germans begins it says οἱ Γερμανῶν πρέσβεις; when it finishes it says Φράγγοι μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπον). Though we should accept the reading of **K**, which includes the word πρέσβεις. The omission of **Ath** is not justified. Perhaps it is caused by the fact that the last word finishes in -το and the last word he omits is τὸ and the scribe jumped the phrase (*homoioteleuton*).

3.10.1.i) VI. 28.29 (p. 281, 3-6): ...ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ παρ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ πιστὰ **δόντες** (om. **Ath**) παραστήσονται ὁμολογίᾳ τοὺς ταύτῃ βαρβάρους. The participle is absolutely necessary, because it is the reason why the men were sent by Belisarius, they had "instructions to give pledges and accept the surrender of the barbarians". Without the participle the object τὰ πιστὰ does not have a verb.

3.10.1.j) VII. 1.13 (p. 300, 7-9): ἦν δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀγχίνους τε διαφερόντως **κἀν** (**K** : καὶ ἐν **L**, ἐν **Ath**) τοῖς ἀπόροις ἐπινοῆσαι τά βέλτιστα ἱκανώτατος. The reading of **Ath** is grammatically possible, but syntactically it is not: the καὶ is necessary to co-ordinate with the previous τὲ. The reading of **L** is correct, but the two words must be connected; in similar cases it appears correct in **L** (13.6, (p. 350, 16) and 14.28 (p. 358,19).

3.10.1.k) VII. 2.15 (p. 308, 5-7): Ἐράριχος δὲ Γότθους ἅπαντας συγκαλέσας **πρέσβεις ἀνέπεισε** (KW : βουλὴν προὔθετο πρέσβεις **L**, πρέσβεις **Ath**) πρὸς Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα πέμψαι, δεησόμενους... The reading of **Ath** is certainly wrong, because it does not have a verb to make the infinitive πέμψαι necessary. The reading of

KW seems more plausible here, as the reading of **L** seems like an explanatory note; the verb προτίθεμαι was never used by Procopius in all of his works.

3.10.1.l) VII. 14.3 (p. 354, 6-10): Χιλβούδιος δὲ οὕτω τοῖς βαρβάροις φοβερὸς γέγονεν ὥστε **ἐς** (om. **Ath**) τριῶν ἐνιαυτῶν χρόνον ... οὐδεὶς ἴσχυσεν. There are other cases where the articles, particles and other small words are omitted inadvertently in Book VII: 16.11 (p. 362, 2-3): ...τὰ ἱμάτια σείοντες **τοῖς** (om. **Ath**) ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ σημαίνειν ἐβούλοντο μὴ πρόσω ἰέναι; 18.29 (p. 378, 22): Ἰωάννης δὲ **τὴν** (om. **Ath**) δίοδον ἀπογνοὺς...; 19.15 (p. 380, 26): Βελισάριος μὲν **οὖν** (om. **Ath**) καὶ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στόλος...; 20.19 (p. 387, 20): ἄλλοι ἐς τὸν Πέτρου **τὸν** (om. **Ath**) ἀποστόλου νεὼν ἔφυγον; 21.19 (p. 393, 8): ἐπέστελλε αὐτοῖς τὴν εἰρήνην **οἱ** (om. **Ath**) παντὶ σθένει...; 28.8 (p. 421, 10-11): ἐνταῦθα μὲν παρὰ την ἀκτὴν Ῥουσκιανή ἐστι **το** (om. **Ath**) Θουρίων ἐπίνειον...; 33.3 (p. 442, 10-11): ...τοῦ μή τί **οἱ** (om. **Ath**) ἐναντίωμα...; 33.6 (p. 442, 22): καίτοι νόμισμα **μὲν** (om. **Ath**) ἀργυροῦν...; 34.9 (p. 446, 11-12): ...πολλοῦ λόγου τε ἂν ἡμῖν καὶ χρόνου **και** (om. **Ath**) τῆς ἔξοθεν μαρτυρίας ἐδέησε...; 34, 45 (p. 452, 16): γνόντες δὲ Γήπαιδες ἄγχιστα **πη** (om. **Ath**) εἶναι τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατὸν...; 35.9 (p. 454, 22): ...πολλοῖς **τε** (om. **Ath**) καὶ λογιμωτάτοις ἐσάγαν οὖσιν...; 35.16 (p. 455, 18-19): ὁ δε **δὴ** (om. **Ath**) ἕτερος...; 35.19 (p. 456, 4-5): ..Ἰλδίγης εὐθὺς Λογγοβάρδων τε (om. **Ath**) τοὺς ἐπισπομένων...; 36.16 (p. 460, 20-21): ...Παύλος **μὲν** (om. **Ath**) ὄνομα, Κίλιξ δὲ γένος...; 36,16 (p. 460, 23-24): ...καὶ ξὺν τῷ Διογένει ἐπὶ **τῷ** (om. **Ath**) Ῥώμης φυλακτηρίῳ ἐτέτακτο; 38.1 (p. 467, 13): ...οὐ πλέον ἢ **ἐς** (om. **Ath**) τρισχιλίους ἀγηγερμένοι...; 40.8 (p. 477, 9): ὁδοῦ ἐνθένδε τῆς ἐπὶ **τὴν** (om. **Ath**) Ἰταλίαν ἀρξόμενος...; 40.33 (p. 481, 22): ἀνήκεστα **ἐν** (om. **Ath**) τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τῇ ὅλῃ ἔργα εἰργάσαντο...

3.10.1.m) VII. 19.23 (p. 382, 13): ...ἐν τούτῳ τις φήμη ἐπὶ πονηρῷ τῷ Ῥωμαίων ἐς Πόρτον **ἐλθοῦσα περιήγγελλεν** (**K** : ἐλθοῦσα **Ath**, ἔλθοι **L**), ὡς νικῴη μὲν Βελισάριος, ἀνέλοιτο δὲ τὴν ἄλυσιν... The finite verb is necessary here, because the participle cannot stand by itself, and secondly the next sentence ὡς νικῴη needs a verb to depend on. **Ath** by mistake omits the verb, and **L** by confusion from the next optative changes its mood.

3.10.1.n) VII. 28.3 (p. 420, 17-18): ...περαιτέρω δὲ τὰς ναῦς ἰέναι οὐδαμῇ ἐφιέντος, τῷ Κροτωνιατῶν λιμένι **προσέσχε** (om. **Ath**). Most probably an inadvertent error. The verb is absolutely necessary, because there is not another verb in the sentence. Inadvertent omission

also in 29.5 (p. 423, 16-18): καὶ οἱ μὲν ταύτῃ ὠκημένοι καταχωσθήσεσθαι ὑποτοπήσαντες ἐν δέει μεγάλῳ ἐγένοντο, **οὐδὲν μέντοι** (om. **Ath**) ἐνθένδε φλαῦρον αὐτοῖς ξυνηνέχθη παθεῖν.

3.10.1.o) VII. 30.9 (p. 428, 3-4): ...στόλον πολὺν ἀγείρας εὐθὺ Ρουσκιανῆς κατὰ τάχος ἔπλει, τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις **ἐπαμύνειν** (**K** : ἀμύνειν **L**, om. **Ath**) ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων. An infinitive is absolutely necessary here; so the omission of **Ath** is not justified. The correct form is the compound, which means "to go in order to offer help to someone" and not "to defend" as the simple verb means.

3.10.1.p) VII. 37.28 (p. 467, 7-8): τότε δὴ Βῆρος **ξὺν ἀνδράσιν, οὓς** (**L** : ἄνδρας **V**, om. **Ath**) ἀγείρας μαχιμωτάτους ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔτυχε Γότθοις τοῖς ἐν Πικηνῷ οὖσιν ἐς χείρας ἐλθὼν ... τῶν τε ἑπομένων πολλοὺς ἀποβάλλει... The omission of the phrase omits an important part of the sentence, which is necessary. The reading of **V** is also wrong, because it would connect ἔτυχε not with ἀγείρας but with ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθών: "Beros, having gathered the best fighters around him, happened to attack the Goths who were in Picenum".

3.10.1.q) VII. 39.26 (p. 475, 9-11): ἀκηκοέναι γὰρ αὐτοκράτορα τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου **τὸν Γερμανὸν** (om. **Ath**) καταστῆναί τε καὶ ξὺν τῷ στρατῷ οὐκ ἄποθεν εἶναι. The accusative is the object of ἀκηκοέναι and absolutely necessary in the sentence.

3.10.1.r) VIII. 4.11 (p. 502, 10-11): ...εἴτε καὶ ἄλλο τι ἀμφὶ τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῖς **ἤσκητο** (**K** : ἠσκεῖτο **L**, om. **Ath**), οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν... The verb is necessary; **Ath** omits it by carelessness, while **L** makes a phonetic error.

3.10.1.s) VIII. 6.21 (p. 514, 4-5): **οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ** (**L** : ἐπεὶ **K**, ἀλλὰ **Ath**) κἀν τῷ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τε καὶ Σικελίαν διείργοντι πορθμῷ... The phrase of **L** gives the correct meaning "But this is not the only case..." referring to the previous thoughts.

3.10.1.t) VIII. 11.24 (p. 538, 20-22): τοῖν τε βασιλέοιν **ἑκάτερος** (om. **Ath**) χρυσίον εἰώθει τακτὸν τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐνσπόνδοις προΐεσθαι... The pronoun after the dual is necessary for the meaning: "each one of the two kings used to offer gold".

3.10.2.Omissions, which do not affect the syntax

3.10.2.a) V. 18.35 (p. 95, 4-5): ... δι ἄλλης πύλης ἐμβεβληκότων, ἣ ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Τίβερίν ἐστι Παγκρατίου ἀνδρὸς ἁγίου **ἐπώνυμος** (om. **Ath**) οὖσα. An inadvertent omission by **Ath**.

3.10.2.b) V. 22.4 (p. 108, 19-22): πρῶτος ὁ στρατηγὸς τὸ τόξον ἐκτείνας, τῶν τινα τεθωρακισμένων τε καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἡγουμένων εἰς τὸν αὐχένα **ἐπιτυχὼν** (τυχὼν sscr. ἐπι **Ath**) βάλλει. The scribe of **Ath** wrote by mistake at first the simple τυχὼν and afterwards he added the preposition above, because he realised his mistake. The simple τυχὼν would give the wrong meaning "Belisarius hit him on the neck because he accidentally found him". The meaning of ἐπιτυχὼν is that what happened, happened on purpose and successfully, "with lucky aim". The simple verb is not transmitted by any of the later manuscripts.

3.10.2.c) V. 22.11 (p. 110, 1-3): ἐτύγχανον δὲ ἤδη καὶ μηχαναὶ ἄλλαι πύργων τε καὶ κριῶν **καὶ** (om. **Ath**) κλίμακες πολλαὶ ἐνταῦθα οὖσαι. The text refers to the engines of towers and rams and a lot of ladders, which happened to be there. The omission of the second connective καὶ by **Ath** changes the meaning, attributing ladders to rams. This is impossible for rams have no ladders.

3.10.2.d) V. 21.22 (p. 108, 2-4): **αὗται δὲ** (**L** : αὖ τε **K**, αὗται **Ath**) ἐς τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἐς τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐμπίπτουσαι τοῖς προέχουσι τῶν ἐμβολῶν, ὅσους ἂν λάβοιεν, εὐπετῶς κτείνουσι. Without δὲ the sentence is an *asyndeton*. The particle is necessary. A similar omission appears in VI. 1.11 (p. 151, 11-15): Περανίου δὲ ἡμέραις οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον Ῥωμαίων τισὶ διὰ πύλης Σαλαρίας ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἡγησαμένου ἔφευγον μὲν κατὰ κράτος οἱ Γότθοι, παλινδιώξεως **δὲ** (om. **Ath**) περὶ ἡλίου δυσμὰς ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου γεγενημένης... The omission of the particle in **Ath** is inadvertent. The fact that in the previous sentence there is a co-ordinate μὲν and together they form a contrast, makes the δὲ absolutely necessary.

3.10.2.e) V. 22.21 (p. 111, 21-23): ὡς μήτε τῇ καλουμένῃ βαλλίστρᾳ χρῆσθαι τοὺς φύλακας οἵους τε εἶναι (οὐ γὰρ πέμπουσιν **ὅτι μὴ** (**L** : om. **K**, ὅτι **Ath**) ἐξ ἐναντίας αἱ μηχαναὶ αὗται τὰ βέλη) οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῖς τοξεύμασι τούς ἐπιόντας ἀμύνεσθαι... The omission of the negative particle μὴ by **Ath** changes the meaning of "for these engines do not send their missiles except (= ὅτι μὴ) straight out".

It is possible that the two negatives οὐ γὰρ and ὅτι μὴ and the fact that this sentence is in parenthesis confuses the scribes.

3.10.2.f) V. 26.5 (p. 128, 9-13): ἔστι δὲ ἡ ὁ ποταμὸς Τίβερις τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἔχει, ὃς δὴ ἐκ Ῥώμης φερόμενος, ἐπειδὰν τῆς θαλάσσης ἐγγυτέρω γένηται ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων πεντεκαίδεκα, **δίχα** (om. **Ath**) σχιζόμενος τὴν ἱερὰν νῆσον καλουμένην ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖ. The omission of δίχα changes the meaning of the sentence; δίχα makes it more specific ("to be divided in two parts").

3.10.2.g) V. 25.15 (p. 126, 1-5): ... καὶ τοὺς φύλακας ἐς φυλακτήριον ἄλλο μακράν που ἄποθεν τοῦ προτέρου ἀντικαθίστη, τοῖς τε ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ **φυλακὴν ἔχουσιν** (**K** : ἔχουσιν **Ath**, ἄρχοντας **L**) ἐς νύκτα ἑκάστην ἑτέρους ἐφίστη. The word ἄρχοντας of **L** fits the syntax, going with ἑτέρους, but the meaning is not suitable. The dative participle, which goes with the initial article in the dative, is absolutely necessary as it is the object of the sentence and without it the sentence makes no sense. The omission of **Ath** is most possibly inadvertent.

3.10.2.h) V. 25.18 (p. 126, 16-18): τότε καὶ τοῦ Ἰάνου νεὼ τὰς θύρας **τῶν** (om. **Ath**) τινες Ῥωμαίων βιασάμενοι ἀνακλῖναι λάθρα ἐπειράσαντο. The article is necessary, because it refers to a specific noun, Ῥωμαίοι (τινὲς τῶν Ῥωμαίων).

3.10.2.i) VI. 2.12 (p. 156, 2-4): καρτερᾶς τε γεγενημένης τῆς ξυμβολῆς, ἑκατέρων μὲν πολλοὶ **καὶ** (om. **Ath**) ἄριστοι ἔπεσον, ἀμφοτέροις δὲ ἀπὸ τε τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν χαρακωμάτων ἐπίκουροι ἦλθον. The fallen on the battle were many on both sides and the best. There are similar constructions elsewhere: VI 12.32 (p. 204,8): ἦσαν πολλοί τε καὶ ἄριστοι; VII.35.9 (p. 454,22): πολλοῖς τε καὶ λογιμοτάτοις ἐσάγαν οὖσιν.

3.10.2.j) An inadvertent omission of articles in Book VI: 3.20 (p. 162, 13-16): πάντα γὰρ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ὁ λιμὸς τὰ κακὰ φορητέα δείκνυσιν, ἔνθά τε ἂν φαίνηται, μετὰ τῆς[128] **τῶν** (om. **Ath**) ἄλλων ἐπέρχεται λήθης καὶ θανάτους ἅπαντας... where τῶν ἄλλων refers to specific sufferings, therefore the article is necessary. Other omissions of articles: VI. 4.15 (p. 167, 13-15): τὸ ἐπιτείχισμα ... ὃν συχνά τε καταθέοντες καὶ τῷ ἀπροσδοκήτῳ ἐκπλήσσοντες ἀεὶ τῶν βαρβάρων **τοὺς** (om. **Ath**) τὰ ἐπιτήδεια παραπέμποντας, ἕως Σινθουῆς...; VI. 10.16 (p. 195, 11-12): ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ Γότθοι

[128] τῆς om. **L**

τραπόμενοι μέγα τε καὶ ὑπερφυὲς σφίσιν αὐτοῖς **τὸ** (om. **Ath**) πάθος ἐποίουν. The omission of the article would be correct, if the πάθος was not the object of ἐποίουν and if it was not characterised by two adjectives; here it needs to be specified, as the construction is: τὸ πάθος μέγα τε καὶ ὑπερφυὲς ἐποίουν. There are similar instances where the article is not omitted: IV 7.6 (p. 449, 7): τοῦτο τὸ πάθος οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν Γελίμερ...; VII 17.21 (p. 372, 24-25): ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ τὸ πάθος ὅλον ἀποκρυψάμενος.

Another omission of article appear in Book VI: 23.31 (p. 256, 13-15): ἡμῖν δὲ τοῦ διαφυγεῖν τὴν αὐτῶν ἐνέδραν **τὸ** (om. **Ath**) τὸν κίνδυνον ὑποστῆναι μεμπτότερον. Here the author in order to give emphasis changes the order of the comparison and this confuses the scribe. The article is necessary here, because it goes with the infinitive ὑποστῆναι, which is the first part of the comparative and τοῦ διαφυγεῖν the second. This is a very unusual structure.

3.10.2.k) VI. 3.7 (p. 160, 10-14): ... ἀπ' αὐτοῦ χῶρον τὸν μεταξὺ ὀχύρωμα ξυμβαίνει τῷ ἐκ τῶν ὀχετῶν περιβάλλεσθαι. τούτων δὲ τὰ **κάτω** (om. **Ath**) κυρτώματα οἱ βάρβαροι λίθοις τε καὶ πηλῷ φράξαντες φρουρίου σχήμα πεποίηνται... The adverb κάτω is necessary here. The author refers to the lower arches of aqueducts, which the barbarian walled up and made into a kind of fort.

3.10.2.l) VI. 4.13 (p. 166, 25-p. 167, 1): ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Βελισάριος διαπεπραγμένος ἡσύχαζε, μάχης μὲν οὐκ ἄρχων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τείχους ἀμύνεσθαι προθυμούμενος, ἤν τις ἔξωθεν **ἐπ' αὐτὸ** (Haury : ἐπ' αὐτῷ **K**, ἀπ' αὐτῆ **L**, om. **Ath**) κακουργήσων ἴοι; The prepositional phrase is definitely necessary for the meaning to define the word τείχος. All later manuscripts transmit either the reading of L or of K.

3.10.2.m) VI. 5.14 (p. 172, 10-12): ἐνταῦθα τῶν τις βαρβάρων τεθωρακισμένος τε καὶ σώματος ἐς ἄγαν **εὖ** (om. **Ath**) ἥκων, ἐπειδὴ εἶδε προιόντας τοὺς πολεμίους...The word is necessary here: "A very strong man in so far as his body was concerned".

3.10.2.n) VI. 9.11 (p. 190, 18-20): διὸ δὴ αὐτός τε τὸν ὀχετὸν ἐν μεγάλῃ **φυλακῇ** (om. **Ath**) ἔσχε καὶ οἱ Γότθοι αἰσθόμενοι ταύτης δὴ τῆς πείρας ἀπέσχοντο. This seems an inadvertent omission.

3.10.2.o) VI. 10.10 (p. 194, 4-8): τολμητής τε γὰρ ἦν καὶ αὐτουργὸς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα, ἐς τε τοὺς κινδύνους ἄοκνος, δίαιτάν τε

σκληρὰν καὶ ταλαιπωρίαν **τινὰ** (om. **Ath**) ἐς ἀεὶ εἶχε βαρβάρου ὁτουοῦν ἢ στρατιώτου οὐδενὸς ἧσσον. All characteristics used to describe John are strong and expressive and mostly followed by a strong adjective; therefore the ταλαιπωρία should be characterised as "of a kind". In addition, perhaps it is used to counterbalance σκληράν (δίαιταν σκληράν – ταλαιπωρίαν τινὰ).

3.10.2.p) VI. 10.19 (p. 195, 22-24): ἀλλὰ Μουνδίλας μὲν τέτρασι βαρβάροις **καθ' ἕκαστον** (om. **Ath**) ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθὼν ἔκτεινέ τε ἅπαντας καὶ αὐτὸς ἐσώθη. The phrase καθ' ἕκαστον must have existed in the original text ("with four barbarians in turn and killed them all"); it is an inadvertent omission by **Ath**, as it is the case in 13.14 (p. 207,25 - 208,1): ...εἰ μὴ ἄνδρες δύο, ἔργα θαυμάσια ἐνδεικνύμενοι, ἤδη αὐτοὺς **τοὺς ἐν** (**K** : om. **L**, [τοὺς] ἐν Christ, τοὺς **Ath**) ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι γενομένους ἀρετῇ ὥσαντο...

3.10.2.q) VI. 12.22 (p. 202, 25-26): οἷς δὲ τὸ φιλόψυχον ἐμπέφυκε μᾶλλον, τούτοις δὴ **μάλιστα** (om. **Ath**) τὸ εὐτόλμοις εἶναι ξυνοίσει ... The adverb is necessary, as in the previous sentence there is a μᾶλλον to which μάλιστα refers: "For those in whom the love of life has been more deeply implanted, it will be of advantage to those especially to be hold".

3.10.2.r) VI. 29.2 (p. 282, 14-15): ...τῶν δὲ **δὴ** (om. **Ath**) χρημάτων τὸ ἥμισυ βασιλέως εἶναι, καὶ αὐτὸν ὅσα ἐντὸς Πάδου ποταμοῦ ἐστιν... The particle may be explanatory: "Vittigis gets half of the treasure – the secons half, of course, goes to the Emperor". The phrase is also used in other cases: I. 24.27 (p. 128, 18); IV. 3.8 (p. 429, 11). Same omission in VII. 6.20 (p. 324, 1-4): ...καὶ τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν ἔργων τε καὶ κινδύνων ἀκριβῶς ἔμπειρος, πλεύσας δὲ ξὺν Βελισαρίῳ ἔς τε Λιβύην καὶ Ἰταλίαν ἐγένετο ἐς ταύτην **δὴ** (om. **Ath**) τὴν ἐμπειρίαν δόκιμος...; 9.8 (p. 334, 1-2): ἦν δὲ τις ἐκ προνοίας ἀδικῇ μόνης, τοῦτῳ **δὴ** (om. **Ath**) μηδὲ ἀντιλέγειν ποτὲ πρὶν τῶν πεπραγμένων λελείψεται.

3.10.2.s) VI. 29.33 (p. 287, 10-14): τοὺς γὰρ ἐναντίους οἱ Γότθοι πλήθει καὶ δυνάμει **παρὰ** (om. **Ath**) πολὺ ὑπεραίροντες... δορυάλωτοί τε πρὸς τῶν ἐλασσόνων ἐγίνοντο... If the παρὰ is omitted, there is no great change in the sentence; it is just used for emphasis. It is very frequently used before πολὺ in Procopius.

3.10.2.t) VII. 1.8 (p. 299, 8-10): τῶν τε γὰρ ἐν ξυμβολῇ ἠτυχηκότων χρήμασι μεγάλοις παρεμυθεῖτο τὰ **πρότερα** (**K** : προτρ/ **L**, om.

Suid. and **Ath**) τραύματα καὶ τοῖς εὐδοκιμήσασι ψέλλιά τε καὶ στρεπτοὺς ἔχειν... I believe that the πρότερα is not necessary here, because it is quite clear that it refers to the wounds received previously. It is one of the few cases that the reading in the *Suda Lexicon* and in **Ath** coincide; this may mean that, at least in this case, they take their information from the same transmission.

3.10.2.u) VII. 1.48 (p. 305, 18-20): ... ἡ κεφαλὴ εἰς τὴν τράπεζα καταρραγεῖσα ἐξέπληξέ τε καὶ ἐς θάμβος **τι** (om. **Ath**) μέγα τοὺς παρόντας ἤνεγκεν ἅπαντας. An error appears in a similar case in Book V.10.9 (p. 194, 2-4): καὶ μέγα τι (καί μέγα τὸ **Ath**, μέγα τι **K**, καί μέγα **L**, μέγα τε Kras) κλέος. Inadvertent error.

3.10.2.v) VII. 3.4 (p. 309, 14-15): οὗτος μὲν **οὖν** (om. **Ath**) ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς εἰς δισχιλίους τε καὶ μυρίους ξυνείλεκτο... The same omission in 10.17 (p. 339, 10-12): Βελισάριος μὲν **οὖν** (om. **Ath**) τοὺς ἄνδρας οἱ ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθόντας ξὺν φιλοφροσύνῃ πολλῇ, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, εἶδεν.

3.10.2.w) VII. 3.7 (p. 310, 2-4): καὶ, ἦν γάρ οἱ τῶν τις φυλάκων ἐκ παιδὸς γνώριμος, πέμψας παρ᾽ αὐτὸν τῶν **οἱ** (om. **Ath**) ἐπιτηδείων τινὰς χρήμασιν ἀναπείθει τὸν ἄνθρωπον... The dative of the personal pronoun is necessary here for the meaning, because it shows the familiarity to him of the people he sent.

3.10.2.x) VII. 3.12 (p. 310, 20-22): τότε δὲ ἄνδρας ἑκατὸν ἐκ τοῦ **παντὸς** (om. **Ath**) στρατοπέδου ἀπολεξάμενος ἀωρὶ τῶν νυκτῶν ἄγχιστα τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένετο. The adjective provides emphasis. A similar case in 7.16 (p. 327, 19-21): ...ἦν γε τὴν πόλιν ἐνδόντες ἡμῖν ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλάσσοιντο, **πάντα** (om. **Ath**) τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχοντες. Similar omissions in 38.18 (p. 469,25 - 470, 1): ἄνδρας μὲν οὖν ἐς πεντακισχιλίους τε καὶ μυρίους εὐθὺς **ἅπαντας** (om. **Ath**) ἔκτειναν καὶ πάντα τὰ χρήματα ἐλῃΐσαντο... The pronoun is also omitted in 38.19 (p. 470, 4-6): ...ἐξ ὅτου δὴ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐπέσκηψαν χώρᾳ, τοὺς παραπίπτοντας ἠβηδὸν **ἅπαντας** (om. **Ath**) ἔκτεινον. Although the omission of the pronouns does not affect either the syntax or the meaning, they are frequently used by Procopius for emphasis.

3.10.2.y) VII. 3.18 (p. 311, 24-312, 2): καὶ τότε δὴ **οἱ** (ἡ **K**, om. **Ath**) τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν Βερώνῃ χρημάτων πρὸς ἀλλήλους διοικησάμενοι... The reading of **K** is certainly wrong; perhaps it comes from a dictation error. **Ath** is wrong as well, because the article is necessary, as the text refers to the

particular ἄρχοντες, those of the Roman army. A similar omission in 6.14 (p. 323, 3-5): καταπλεύσας οὖν ὁ (om. **Ath**) Δημήτριος ἐς Σικελίαν, ἐπὶ Κόνωνά τε καὶ Νεαπολίτας πικρότατα πολιορκεῖσθαι... The article is necessary as it refers to the particular Demetrius who has been introduced just two lines before.

3.10.2.z) VII. 8.3 (p. 328, 23-25): φυλακὰς ἔν τε τῷ λιμένι καὶ ταῖς πύλαις καταστησάμενος ἐκέλευε μηδένα πη **ἐνθένδε** (om. **Ath**) ἰέναι. This adverb is necessary, because it completes the meaning of ἰέναι: "go away from there (the city)".

3.10.2.a.a) VII. 9.18 (p. 335, 14-16): ...ἀλλ' ἔτι βραχείας τινὸς καὶ ταύτης ἀνονήτου **ὑμῖν** (om. **Ath**) ἀπολελειμμένης ἐλπίδος ἔλησθε μὲν τὰ κρείσσω... The dative of the personal pronoun is necessary; it is the indirect object of the genitive absolute participle.

3.10.2.a.b) VII. 14. 21 (p. 357, 5-6): Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ λόγος περιφερόμενος ἐς ἅπαντας ἦλθεν, ἠγείροντο μὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ **Ἄνται** (om. **Ath**) σχεδὸν ἅπαντες... Inadvertent error.

3.10.2.a.c) VII. 14.32 (p. 359, 4-6): ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπράσσετο τῇδε, ἐν τούτῳ **βασιλεὺς** (om. **Ath**) Ἰουστινιανὸς πρέσβεις τινὰς παρὰ τούτους δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους στείλας... Almost always when there is a reference to Justinian, the name is accompanied by the word βασιλεὺς either before or after the name, as a title (see some lines below, 14.33 (p. 359, 12).

3.10.2.a.d) VII. 28.18 (p. 422,24 - 423,2): ἔνθεν τε ἄραντες **καὶ πνεύματος ἐπιτυχόντες ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ** (om. **Ath**) τῇ Σικελίας Μεσήνῃ προσέσχον, ἣ τοῦ μὲν Κρότωνος ἑπτακοσίους σταδίους διέχει... This is an omission of a long part of the text by **Ath**. Similar cases appear below: 29.3 (p. 423, 10-13): οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν ἄρχοντες **στράτευμα πεντακισχιλίων τε καὶ μυρίων ἔχοντες** (om. **Ath**) εἵποντο, ἄγχιστα μέντοι τῶν πολεμίων οὐδαμῇ ἐτόλμων ἰέναι and 36.23 (p. 461, 22-24): ἀλλήλους τοίνυν ἐξαπινιαίως περιπλακέντες **καὶ τῶν προσώπων καταφιλήσαντες** (om. **Ath**) τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἠσπάζοντο... It is not accidental that in all cases the phrases omitted are independent, additional or explanatory sentences. However, it is more plausible that the scribe jumped a line due to *homoioteleuton*.

3.10.2.a.e) VII. 30.5 (p. 426,23 - 427, 1): ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ ἐν τῷ **ἐπὶ Ῥουσκιανῆς** (Haury cf. 426,5, 429,17 : ῥουσκιανῆς **K**, ῥουσκιανῳ **L**,

om. **Ath**) φρουρίῳ πολιορκούμενοι... The definition of the place is necessary, because above there is another discussion and here a new narrative begins. Haury depends on two other similar cases to emend the text.

3.10.2.a.f) VII. 32.15 (p. 436, 6-8): ἀφικόμενός τε παρ' αὐτὸν Ἀρσάκης ἔφασκεν οἱ **λάθρα** (om. **Ath**) ἐν ἱερῷ τινι ἐντυχεῖν βούλεσθαι. The adverb is necessary to the context, "secretly".

3.10.2.a.g) VII. 37.27 (p. 467, 5-6): ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ βασιλεῖ μετέμελεν αὖθις, ἡσυχῇ **καὶ αὐτὸς** (om. **Ath**) ἔμενε. The omission does not affect the syntax, but καὶ αὐτὸς is necessary for emphasis and for the meaning: "...he too remained silent...".

3.10.2.a.h) VIII. 2.8 (p. 491, 18-20): ... εἴτε Λαζικῆς εὐθὺ πλέοντες εἴτε **καὶ** (om. **Ath**) ἐνθένδε ἀπάραντες, οὐκέτι ἐξῆς διαπλεῖν δύνανται. The scribe omits inadvertently particles and other small words which are necessary to the sentences: 6.20 (p. 513, 12-13): ...ὅνπερ Εὔριππον ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ **λόγον τὸν** (om. **Ath**) φυσικὸν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς διερευνᾶσθαι βουλόμενος...; 6.28 (p. 515, 5): ...τὰ λίνα ἐνταῦθα **πῃ** (om. **Ath**) ἀπορρίψωσι...; 6.28 (p. 515, 6): ...ταῦτα **δὲ** (om. **Ath**) ἀεὶ τῷ ῥεύματι βιαζόμενα...; 13.8 (p. 554, 8): ...ἀλλ **ἐν** (om. **Ath**) Ἀρχαιοπόλει φυλακτηρίῳ...; 13.20 (p. 556, 1-2): Λάζοι μὲν **οὖν** (om. **Ath**) ταῦτα τὰ φρούρια ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλον; 13.25 (p. 556, 19): ...καὶ **τι** (om. **Ath**) νεανιευσάμενος ὡς αὐτίκα...; 14.3 (p. 557, 25): ...ὅπως ἂν σφίσιν ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ **τὸ** (om. **Ath**) τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὕδωρ.

3.11. Errors in proper and foreign names

Errors in proper names are very frequent in manuscripts. In Procopius errors of this kind are due to most of the names being foreign and transcribed in Greek. This suggests that perhaps Procopius himself may have been unsure about their spelling. When the proper names are changed due to paretymology, they are definitely the scribe's mistake. The fact that in later manuscripts different versions of the proper names appear in particular foreign ones, leads to the assumption that there are scribal errors.

3.11.a) V. 29.11 (p. 141, 1-5): ἢν μετὰ τούτων ὑμεῖς τῶν λογισμῶν τήνδε τὴν ξυμβολὴν διενέγκητε, ῥᾷστα μὲν τοὺς ἐναντίους νικήσετε, ὀλίγους τε ὄντας καὶ **Γραικοὺς** (**K** : γραικοὺς ἢ ὅσους **Ath**, γραικοὺς ἢ ἴσους **L**, ἢ Ισαύρους Grotius), κολάσετε δὲ αὐτοὺς αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τῆς ἀδικίας καὶ ὕβρεως ἧς ἐς ἡμᾶς ἦρξαν. There are four different variants for this reading. Manuscripts **Ath** and **L**

transmit similar additions and therefore the addition most probably existed in a common, previous manuscript. I believe that the aim of Vittigis who speaks here is to give encouragement to his army, and so he exaggerates in some cases: "you will not only conquer your opponents most easily, few as they are and Greeks, but you will also punish them...". Grotius' emendation does not include the name Γραικοὺς; if it was included, it would be the most plausible suggestion: "you will conquer your opponents, Greeks or Isaurians". With this suggestion the attempt is not to define whom they will conquer, but to give an indicative object, for exaggeration. I believe that there must be other words after Γραικοὺς as in all manuscripts, except from **K**; this, to some extent, supports Grotius' emendation ['isous] [is'avrous].

3.11.b) VI. 7.23 (p. 183, 14-15): ταὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο ἀμφί τε Ἀλβανῳ καὶ **Κεντουκέλλαις** (κεντουκέλαις **K**, κεντούλλαις **L**, κεντούλος **Ath**) δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ ἠτιώντο... **K** has the correct form, except for the very common -λ- for -λλ-. The name appears correctly in 7.13 (p. 182, 20): Κεντουκέλλας (κεντουκέλας codd.). Proper names are usually transmitted wrongly in manuscripts, e.g., 22.8 (p. 248, 11-12): **Φιλιμοὺθ** (Φιλημοὺθ **Ath**) and **Φανιθέου** (Φανηθέου **Ath**),[129] 27.14 (p. 272, 5): **Οὐνίγαστος** (οὐνίγατος **L**, οὐνίγας **Ath**).

3.11.c) VI. 7.28 (p. 184, 10-12): παντὶ μὲν τῷ στρατῷ ἄφνω τε καὶ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς καταθεῖν τὴν **Πικηνῶν** (πιγκηνῶν **Ath**, πιγκῆν **L**) χώραν... There are various readings for this proper name in almost all cases. This national name is always transmitted by **Ath** with γ as πιγκιν-; perhaps due to confusion with the name of the gate Πιγκιανή. Similar error in 10.1 (p. 192, 20-22): **Πικηνῶν** (πικινῶν **K**, πιγκιανῶν **L**, πιγγιανῶν **Ath**).[130]

3.11.d) VI. 8.2 (p. 186, 7 and 9): **Πρεσίδιος** (Περσίδιος **Ath**) ἦν τις (ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαίος... Due to paretymology, the name Πρεσίδιος is transmitted wrongly by **Ath**. The tendency of the scribe to find an etymology from Πέρσης is clear. The name is transmitted correctly by **Ath** in other cases (see VI. 8.8 (p. 187, 1, 11, 24)).

3.11.e) VI. 11.10 (p. 197,25- 198, 1): Ῥωμαίων δὲ τὸ στράτευμα, ἐπειδὴ τῇ **Πέτρᾳ** (προτέρᾳ **Ath**) ἐνέτυχον ... Inadvertent error.

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[129] This name appears two more times in Procopius (VI.14.18 (p. 208,21) and VI.19.20 (p. 235, 20); in both cases **K** transmits it correctly while **L** transmits φανόθεος.

[130] Cf. below 3.11.f.

3.11.f) VI. 12.32 (p. 204, 9-10): ... ἐν **Τικηνῷ** (Maltr. : πιγκηνῷ **Ath**, πικηνῶ **K**, πιγκηνῶν **L**) καταθέμενοι ...The scribes use the national Πιγκηνῶν in the position of a word which sounds similar, because they had not come upon this proper name before. **Ath** transmits the correct case (dative). A similar case in 25.8 (p. 262, 15-17): ὡς δὲ ἵκοντο ἐς **Τικίνων** (Maltr. : πικηνῶν **K**, πιγκηνῶν **L**, πιγγινῶν **Ath**) πόλιν, ἵνα δὴ γέφυραν ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον ἐτεκτήναντο οἱ πάλαι Ῥωμαῖοι...

3.11.g) VI. 21.1 (p. 240,26 - 241,2): ... Μαρτῖνόν τε καὶ **Οὐλίαριν** (**K** : οὐλίαρον **L**, οὐλίαν **Ath**) ξὺν πολλῷ στρατῷ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν. The attempt of **L** and **Ath** is to give to the name the most frequent Greek endings; **Ath** may confuse the name with another, the name Οὐλίας which appears once in Procopius. In other cases (p. 242.12, p. 244.5, p. 247.15) the name is spelt correctly.

3.11.h) VI. 21.40 (p. 246, 22-23): **Ῥεπάρατον** (**K** : οὖ δὴ ῥεπάρατον **L**, οὖ δὴ ἐπάρατον **Ath**) δὲ εὑρόντες τὸν τῆς αὐλῆς ἔπαρχον, ἔκοψάν τε κατὰ βραχὺ καὶ αὐτοῦ τα κρέα τοῖς κυσὶν ἔρριψαν. The scribe of **Ath** misunderstood the proper name: "where they found the praetorian prefect accursed (guilty), they cut his body...". The correct reading is that of **K**. **Ath** shows some connection with **L**. There is a possibility that the exemplar of **Ath** had the reading of **L**, and the scribe changed it to a word which had a meaning, simply by omitting the ρ.

3.11.i) VI. 28.1 (p. 275, 18-20): Μάγνον τε πέμψας ξὺν πλήθει πολλῷ ὑπὲρ Ῥαβέννης ἐκέλευε **Πάδου** (πάγου **Ath**) τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ὄχθην... This must be due to the scribe's lack of attention; it gives an etymology to the unknown word.

3.11.k) VII. 2.7 (p. 306, 20-21): οὗτος ὁ Τουτίλας Γότθων μὲν τηνικαῦτα τῶν ἐν **Ταρβησίῳ** (ἀρταβασίῳ **Ath**) ἄρχων ἐτύγχανεν. Inadvertent error. This word does not exist. Perhaps it is a confusion from the proper name Ἀρτάβαζης, which is used frequently in these chapters.

3.11.l) VII. 2.10 (307, 10): Ἤδη δὲ Γότθοι τῇ **Ἐραρίχου** (ἱεραρίχου **Ath**) ἀρχῇ ἤχθοντο... This is the only case where this proper name is transmitted wrongly by **Ath**. Perhaps the scribe tried to give an etymology to the name from the word ἱερεύς.

3.11.m) VII. 3.3 (p. 309, 10-12): ἐπειδή τε ἅπαντες ξυνελέγησαν, ἔδοξε σφίσιν ἄμεινον εἶναι πρῶτον ἐπὶ Βερώνην, ἢ ἐν **Βενετίαις** (βενετίοις **Ath**) ἐστὶ, στρατεύεσθαι... It is frequent in manuscripts to

interchange α and ο; instead of the place name **Ath** forms the national name.

3.11.n) VII. 5.1 (p. 318, 7-8): οἵπερ ἐπειδὴ ἐς **Φλωρεντίαν** (φυρεντίαν **Ath**) ἦλθον... This is just carelessness by **Ath**, as all other times the proper name is transmitted correctly.

3.11.o) VII. 6.26 (p. 325, 1-2): ταύτην τε **Τουτίλᾳ** (Τουτίλαν **K**, τωτίλα **L**, τωτίλαν **Ath**) τὴν δίκην Δημήτριος γλώσσης ἀκολάστου ἐξέτισεν. This proper name is transmitted with -ω by most manuscripts (same mistake in **Ath** in 40.22 (p. 480,3) and 40.26 (p. 480,14). As regards its case here, the name is the indirect (the direct is the noun δίκην) object, which must be in dative.

3.11.p) VII. 9.21 (p. 336, 8-10): Τουτίλας δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας μοῖραν μέν τινα τοῦ στρατοῦ πέμψας ἐς **Καλαβρίαν** (καβαλλαρίαν **Ath**) ἀποπειράσασθαι τοῦ ἐν Δρυοῦντι φρουρίου ἐπέστελλεν. This change is carelessness, because in all other instances the name is transmitted correctly. The word Καβαλλαρία does not exist as a place name. However, Καβαλλάριος appears in 7.2.17 (p. 308, 13) and hence probably the confusion.

3.11.q) VII. 15.2 (p. 360, 14-15): οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ **Βαλεντῖνόν** (βαλεντιανὸν **Ath**) τε καὶ Φωκᾶν... Inadvertent error. Both names are used in total thirty two times in *Wars*; this is the only time that the name is transmitted wrong.

3.11.r) VII. 18.19 (p. 376, 20-21): τούτου Κανουσίου πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους ἀπέχουσι **Κάνναι** (κάννους **Ath**, κάννοι **L**)... The name of the place is changed to the name of its inhabitants by **Ath**.

3.11.s) VII. 18.20 (p. 376, 24): Ἐνταῦθα **Τουλλιανός** (Βελλιανὸς **Ath**) τις... The name Βελλιανὸς is never used by Procopius. Perhaps the name Βεναντίου that follows immediately after confuses the scribe. It may also have been instead by his knowledge of Plutarch where the name Βελλῖνος appears. Other errors in proper names: 35.14 (p. 455, 12 and 18): **Ῥισιούλφῳ** (ῥοισιαλφω and ῥοισιούλφου **Ath**); 35.16 (p. 455, 19): **Ἰλδίγης** (λιγίαγος **L**, ἰλδίαγος **Ath**); 35.20 (p. 456, 9): **Ἰλδίγην** (ἰλδίσγον **Ath**); 36.6 (p. 459, 2): **Λιβέριον** (Βέριον **Ath**); 36.15 (p. 460, 17): **Κεντουκέλλας** (Κεντουκελίας **Ath**).

3.11.t) VII. 27.19 (p. 419, 21-23): ταῦτά τοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ μὲν ὠνόμασαν ἐπιχώριοι **Κυνὸς** (κοινὸς **Ath**) Κεφαλὴν ἄκραν τὴν

μίαν Κερκύρας τῆς νήσου... This is a phonetic error (confusion of οι and υ).

3.11.u) VIII. 2.2 (p. 490, 6): **Βιθυνοι** (βυθινοὶ **Ath**): Some proper names are transmitted wrongly by **Ath** either regarding phonetics/orthography or due to the scribes' attempt to give etymology to the names, when they do not know their meaning. It is worthwhile pointing out that this phenomenon is much more frequent in Book VIII: 1.10 (p. 489, 12-13): **Φᾶσιν** (φάσιν **K**, φύσιν **Ath**); 2.2 (p. 490, 7): **'Ονωριάται** (ἐνόριά τε **K**, ἐνόριοι ἄτε **Ath**); 2.2 (p. 490, 13): **Θερμώδων** (θερμόδων **Ath**); 2.11 (p. 492, 8): **'Ριζαίου** (ῥιζέου **Ath**); 2.16 (p. 493, 12): **Σαγίνας** (σανίγας **Ath**); 3.4 (p. 496, 24): **Καυκασίῳ** (καυκάσῳ **Ath**); 4.1 (p. 500, 12): Βροῦχοι (βρύχοι **Ath**); 8.16 (p. 521, 6), 8.29 (p. 523, 12), 9.13 (p. 525, 13), 11.14 (p. 536, 22) and 11.15 (p. 537, 4): **Δαγισθαὶος** (δαγισταῖος **Ath**); 8.22 (p. 522, 9): **Βαλεριανῷ** (βαλλεριανῷ **Ath**); 8.27 (p. 523, 6): **'Αρταβάνου** (ἀρταβάνη **Ath**); 8.30 (p. 523, 14): Φιλήγαγος (φιλόγαγος **Ath**); 9.7 (p. 526, 14): **'Αψιλίοις** (ἀψιλοῖς **Ath**); 9.20 (p. 528, 19) and 9.22 (p. 529, 2): **Οὐλίγαγον** (οὐίγαγγον **Ath**); 10. 7 (p. 532, 8): **'Αψιλίοις** (ἀψιλίας **Ath**); **Οὐαζαΐνη** (οὐαξίνη **Ath**); 11.4 (p. 535, 3): **'Ισδιγούσναν** (ἰσδιγούναν **Ath**); 11.57 (p. 545, 9): **Γούζην** (γοβύζην **Ath**); 13.15 (p. 555, 7): **Σαραπανὶς** (σαρπανὶς **Ath**); 14.5 (p. 558, 13), 14.6 (p. 558, 15), 14.12 (p. 559, 7) and 14.42 (p. 564, 2): **Δολομίτας** (δολιμνίτας **Ath**); 14.48 (p. 565, 3): **Κόταϊς** (κουτατίσιν **Ath**); 14.48 (p. 565, 5): **'Αριανὸς** (ἀρριανὸς **Ath**); 14.49 (p. 565, 7): **Κοίταιον** (κοιτέον **Ath**).

3.11.v) VIII. 5.14 (p. 505, 18-19): **φοίδερα** (**L** : φίδερα **K**, φέρδερα **Ath**) γὰρ Λατίνοι τὰς ἐν πολέμῳ καλοῦσι ξυνθήκας... The latin loan-word is transmitted wrongly by **K** and **Ath**.

3.12. Attractions

This is a frequent phenomenon in **Ath**. A word is attracted from its proper case into the case of its antecedent or vice versa. The following examples are unique to Ath and not found in any of the manuscripts copied from the fifteenth century and later, although the phenomenon of attraction is found frequently.

3.12.a) V. 11.26 (p. 62,16-18): οὕτω δὴ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἦει, τῶν ἐκ βουλῆς πλείστους ἐν **ὁμήρων** (ὁμήρῳ **Ath**) λόγῳ ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔχων. The use of ὁμήρων between the prepositional phrase ἐν

λόγῳ confuse the scribe, who makes the word to co-ordinate with the following noun.

3.12.b) V. 11.29 (p. 63,3-6): οἱ δε Φράγγοι οὗτοι Γερμανοὶ τὸ παλαιόν ὠνομάζοντο, ὅντινα δὲ τρόπον τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ὅπη **ὠκήμενοι** (ὠκήμενον **Ath**) **Γαλλίας** (Γαλλίαις **Ath**, γαλίαις **L**) τὲ **ἐπεβάτευσαν** (ἐπεβάτευσε **Ath**) καὶ διάφοροι Γόθοις γεγένηνται. **Ath** differs from the other manuscripts in three readings, of which two are definitely wrong and depend on one another. It is inexplicable why the scribe of **Ath** makes such an error as there is no singular subject for ὠκημένον and ἐπεβάτευσε to refer to, unless it is an attraction to the preceding τρόπον. The other reading in which **Ath** differs is Γαλλίας; it transmits Γαλλίαις that refers to ὠκημένοι showing the place where they live. **L** also transmits dative. **Ath** and **L** may have been confused by the phrase ἐν Γαλλίαις in the preceding sentence: οἳ ἐν Γαλλίαις φυλακὴν εἶχον...

3.12.c) V. 12.23 (p. 66,15-17): καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Φράγγοι τῆς μὲν ἐς αὐτοὺς βίας δέει τῷ **Θευδερίχου** (Θευδερίχῳ **Ath**) ἀπέσχοντο, ἐπὶ Βουργουζίωνας δὲ πολέμῳ ἦεσαν. The scribe is possibly confused by the position of τῷ. In a similar case, there is disagreement between the manuscripts: **V**.11.27 (p. 62,22): ἐς γένος τὸ (τὸ Kras. : τῷ **K**, τοῦ **L**) Θευδερίχου. In a case with simpler syntax all manuscripts agree: **V**.11.28 (p. 63,2): δέει τῶν Φράγγων.

3.12.d) V. 12.27 (p. 67,8-13): μόλις δὲ πέμψας ἐπέστελλε τοῖς τοῦ στρατοῦ ἄρχουσιν **σχολαίτερον** (σχολαιτέραν **Ath**) τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ ἢν μὲν Φράγγους νενικέναι ἀκούσωσι τὸ λοιπὸν κατὰ τάχος ἰέναι, ἢν δέ το ξύμβαμα ξυμπεπτωκέναι αὐτοῖς πύθωνται, μηκέτι περαιτέρω πορεύεσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μένειν. The doubtful word characterises πορείαν. While in **Ath** the word is an adjective, in all other manuscripts it appears as adverb, σχολαίτερον, also refer to πορείαν. **Ath** gives the meaning "to make the march more leisurely" and all other manuscripts with σχολαίτερον "to make the march in a more leisurely fashion".

3.12.e) V. 18.9 (p. 91, 1-4): ἀλλὰ ξυμβάλλοντες οὐκ εἰκῇ τὸν λόγον ἐπιπολάζοντα **ὡς πάντας** (**K** : ὡς πάντα **Ath**, ἐς πάντα **L**) ἰέναι, τῶν ἄλλων ἀφέμενοι πάντων, οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐπὶ Βελισάριον ἔβαλλον. **Ath** keeps the ὡς of **K**, but it takes the form of the adjective from **L**. The neuter adjective πάντα is wrong, as it cannot refer to anything. The reading of **Ath** possibly comes from a simple attrasction from ἐπιπολάζοντα.

3.12.f) V. 18.22 (p. 92,26 - 93,2): ὅσοι γὰρ ἐν τῇ πρότερον **γενομένῃ** (Haury and b: γενόμενοι **Ath, a, c, δ, k, n,** γενομένοι L.) τροπῇ φεύγοντες ἦκον, τεθνάναι Βελισάριον ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἀριστεύοντα ἤγγελλον. Most manuscripts change the original γενομένῃ by changing the final vowel plausibly by attaraction. The scribe of **Ath**, as well, is confused by the subject of the sentence, ὅσοι and as the form that other manuscripts transmit does not exist, he thinks that the participle goes with ὅσοι. So he forms the phrase ὅσοι γενόμενοι ἐν τῇ πρότερον τροπῇ. The conjecture of Haury is correct, because the dative γενομένῃ goes with τροπῇ ("the rout which had taken place earlier"). Manuscripts belong to later centuries than the fourteenth such as **a, c, δ, k** and **n** transmit the same reading with **Ath**, perhaps by attraction. On the other hand, the participle presented as Haury's own emendation, is transmitted by the manuscript **b** of the fifteenth century.

3.12.g) V. 20.11 (p. 103, 8-12): νῦν οὖν μήτε Ῥωμαίοις τοῖσδε περαιτέρω τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν μηκύνεσθαι ποίει, οὓς δὴ Θευδέριχος ἐν βίῳ τρυφερῷ τε καὶ ἄλλως **ἐλευθέρῳ** (ἐλευθέρως **Ath**) ἐξέθρεψε, μήτε τῷ Γότθων τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν δεσπότῃ ἐμποδὼν ἵστασο. **Ath** changes the dative form of the adjective to an adverb. All manuscripts take the adjective together with τρυφερῷ to βίῳ. What confuses the sentence is the ἄλλως and the fact that the two characteristics of βίος follow.

3.12.h) V. 21.2 (p. 105, 2-3): ...καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν τοῦ περιβόλου ἐπιβουλὴν ἐξυρτύετο **ὧδε** (τῇδε **Ath**). πύργους ξύλινους ἐποιήσατο... The reading of **Ath** is not correct. The sentence is by way of an introduction before describing what preparations were made for the fortifications and will do on describing the way they were done. It is possible that the mistake arose out of attraction from ἐπιβουλὴν, or that **Ath** replaced ὧδε with τῇδε which means "there" which fits the context, though the first explanation may be more likely.

3.12.i) V. 21.11 (p. 106, 6-7): ἡ δὲ συχνὰ ἐμβαλλομένη κατασεῖσαί τε **ὅπῃ** (ὅποι **Ath**) προσπίπτοι καὶ διελεῖν ῥᾷστα οἵα τέ ἐστι... Both variants give a plausible meaning but ὅπῃ, which is found in the majority of the manuscripts, carries the specific meaning of "movement from a place and a stay in another place"; this is preferable to **Ath**'s vaguer ὅποι, which arquable is formed by attraction from προσπίπτοι.

3.12.j) V. 21.22 (p. 108, 2-4): αὐται δὲ ἐς τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἐς τοῦ αἰφνιδίου **ἐμπίπτουσαι** (ἐμπίπτουσι **Ath**) τοῖς προέχουσι τῶν ἐμβολῶν, ὅσους ἂν λάβοιεν, εὐπετῶς κτείνουσι. **Inadvertent attraction from προέχουσι and/or from κτείνουσι.**

3.12.k) V. 22.14 (p. 110, 14-17): τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τάφον οἱ παλαιοὶ ἄνθρωποι (ἐδόκει γαὺ τῇ πόλει ἐπιτείχισμα εἶναι) τειχίσμασι δύο ἐς αὐτὸν **ἀπὸ** (ἐπὶ **Ath, k, r, n, b, δ**) τοῦ περιβόλου διήκουσι περιβάλλουσι καὶ μέρος εἶναι τοῦ τείχους πεποίηνται.'Επὶ **plus genitive indicates "place" and not "movement from a place" which is the suitable meaning. The correct preposition for the following participle διήκουσι, a motion verb, is ἀπὸ. However, most manuscripts, which belong to more recent centuries, transmit the reading of Ath perhaps due to attraction from ἐπιτείχισμα; these are k, r, n, b and δ. All the same, I think that the suitable preposition is ἀπό.**

3.12.l) V. 22.15 (p. 110, 16-17): ἔοικε γοῦν πύργῳ ὑψηλῷ πύλης τῆς **ἐκείνῃ** (ἐκείνῳ **Ath**) προβεβλημένῳ. **A simple attraction from πύργῳ and the follwing περιβεβλημένῳ. All later manuscripts transmit the correct reading, except of c and k which transmit ἐκείνης, possibly by attraction from πύλης.**

3.12.m) V. 23.20 (p. 116, 4-6): ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Γότθοι, διελόντες τὸν τοῖχον, ἐντὸς Βιβαρίου ἐγένοντο, Κυπριανὸν ξὺν ἄλλοις τισὶ κατὰ τάχος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐσβιβάσας ἔργου **ἐκέλευεν** (**K** : εἶα **L**, οὐκ εἶα **Ath**) ἔχεσθαι. **The subject of the verb is Belisarius, whose name occurs ten lines before. It is certain that the reading of Ath is not correct, as the meaning of the sentence is not negative and Belisarius ordered his men to do something. The reading of L is not far from the correct meaning; Belisarius commanded the men to get to work. But as a General, he ordered them to fight, he did not just allow them. The scribes are confused by the fact that some lines above (p. 115, 26) the verb εἶα is used: Belisarius did not "allow the soldiers to defend the wall nor to remain at the battlement". Later he did the opposite. That is why the scribes are confused and they use again the verb εἶα instead of the correct ἐκέλευεν. And the verb εἶα is the reading of most manuscripts from the fifteenth century onwards.**

3.12.n) V. 29.37 (p. 144, 20-22): ἅπερ ἐν νῷ λαβόντες οἱ τῶν βαρβάρων ἱππεῖς ἐκ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως ἐπὶ **τοὺς** (τῷ **Ath**) κατ αὐτοὺς πολεμίους ἐχώρησαν δρόμῳ. **The accusative article goes with πολεμίους. The scribe of Ath possibly thought that the article goes with δρόμῳ so he changes it to the dative τῷ.**

3.12.o) VI. 4.25 (p. 169, 1-3): καὶ ἦν μέν τινα ὁδῷ τὸ κακὸν τοῦτο βαδίζοντα λάβῃ, **τοῦτον** (τοῦτῳ **Ath**) δὴ **τὸν ἄνθρωπον** (τῷ ανθρώπῳ **Ath**) οὐδεμία μηχανὴ βιώσεσθαί ἐστιν... It is certain that the reading of **Ath** is not an accidental misreading, because the adjective, the article and the noun appear in the dative. But it is not correct; although in syntax ἔστι μοι τι the object is in dative as possessive dative, in this case the syntax is different: the accusative is necessary as there is the infinitive that needs accusative as object. However, it might be a simple attraction.

3.12.p) VI. 6.15 (p. 176, 7-8): Γότθοι γὰρ οὐ βίᾳ Ῥωμαίους ἀφελόμενοι **γῆν τὴν** (**K, Ath** : γῆς τῆς **L**) **Ἰταλίας** (Ἰταλίαν **Ath**) ἐκτήσαντο... Attraction from the previous γῆν. Later manuscripts have γῆν τὴν Ἰταλίας, except of **k** which transmits γῆς Ἰταλίας.

3.12.q) VI. 6.24 (p. 178, 2-4): ὁ δὲ **τὰ** (τὴν **Ath**) περὶ τὸν τύραννον εὖ διαθέμενος **ἀγνωμοσύνῃ** (ἀγνωμοσύνην **Ath**) ἐς τἄλλα οὐκ ἐν μετρίοις ἐχρήσατο. **Ath** takes the noun ἀγνωμοσύνη with the first part of the sentence and with the participle εὖ διαθέμενος. But this does not fit the meaning of the sentence ("Theoderic disposed of the tyrant well..."). In reality the noun should be in dative as the object of ἐχρήσατο. In addition, an explanatory sentence follows with γὰρ: ἀποδιδόναι γὰρ τῷ κυριῷ τὴν γῆν οὐδαμῇ ἔγνω, which explains the ἀγνωμοσύνην of Theoderic ἐς τὰ ἄλλα.

3.12.r) VI. 6.30 (p. 178, 22-23): Οὐ γάρ ἐσμεν κύριοι τὰ βασιλέως πράγματα διοικήσασθαι, οὐχ ὅπη **αὐτῷ** (τῷ **Ath**) βουλομένῳ ἐστίν. Here the demonstrative pronoun is necessary and not the article τῷ. Otherwise the sentence makes no sense.

3.12.s) VI. 9.4 (p. 189, 16-18): **ταύτῃ** (ταύτην **Ath**) γὰρ τὴν γῆν οὐχ ὑπερέχειν τὴν τοῦ ὀχετοῦ οἰκοδομίαν ξυνέβαινε... The word is not an adjective here, but an adverb, "there". The scribe of **Ath** changes it to accusative to co-ordinate with the following accusative τὴν γῆν. The demonstrative pronoun ταύτην is inappropriate, because the τὴν γῆν is not defined as a special area, which the author mentioned before.

3.12.t) VI. 9.5 (p. 189, 20-24): ... ἔνθα δὴ ἄνοδος τις ἦν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐς αὐτό που τὸ Παλάτιον φέρουσα, **οἰκοδομίᾳ τινὶ** (οἰκοδομίαν τινὰ **Ath**) ἐνταῦθα ἐνέτυχον οὔτε πρόσω ἰέναι ... The verb ἐντυγχάνω which takes the dative has the meaning of "come upon". It is clear that by the late thirteenth century the dative has fallen into

disuse, even when it is necessary for the syntax of verbs. It is possibly an attraction from the previous participle in accusative.

3.12.u) VI. 9.17 (p. 191, 20-23): δύο οὖν Ῥωμαίους ἀμφὶ τὸν Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου νεὼν ᾠκημένους χρήμασιν ἀναπείθει οἴνου ἀσκὸν **ἔχοντας** (ἔχοντα **Ath**) παρὰ τοὺς ἐκείνῃ φρουροὺς ἰέναι περὶ λύχνων ἀφάς... The scribe of **Ath** considered as subject of the participle the singular ἀσκόν, which is next to it, and not the plural δύο Ῥωμαίους (attraction).

3.12.v) VI. 10.9 (p. 194, 2-4): **καὶ μέγα τι** (καί μέγα τὸ **Ath**, μέγα τι **K**, καί μέγα **L**, μέγα τε Kras) κλέος ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννης ἔσχε, διαβόητος καὶ πρότερον ὤν. A simple attraction from the neuter κλέος.

3.12.w) VI. 10.18 (p. 195, 18-20): οὕτω δὲ τοὺς πλείστους ἀποβαλόντες οἱ λοιποὶ τοῖς **πρότερον** (προτέροις **Ath**) διαβᾶσι ξυνέμιξαν. The scribe of **Ath** is confused, because the adverb is put between the dative article and the participle (attraction). In other cases the adjective is used: VII.40.31 (p. 481, 13): τοῖς προτέροις ἀναμιχθέντες, VIII.29.21 (p. 646, 11): ὥνπερ ὁμοίως τοῖς προτέροις ἀπαλλαγέντων.

3.12.x) VI. 11.3 (p. 196, 14-16): ...Καισῆνά τε καὶ Μοντεφέρετρα, ὧν δὴ ἐν **ἑκατέρῳ** (ἑκατέρων **Ath**) φρουρὰν οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ πεντακοσίων ἀνδρῶν κατεστήσατο. Although there is the preposition ἐν, which takes a dative, the scribe is confused by the meaning of the adjective, which implies plural. A possible attraction from the pronoun ὧν.

3.12.y) VI. 12.17 (p. 202, 10-13): οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ πολιορκηθήσεσθαι ὑπωπτεύομεν, **οὕτω** (οὔτε **Ath**) δὴ θαλασσοκρατούντων Ῥωμαίων, οὔτε τοσοῦτον ἡμῶν περιόψεσθαι τὸν βασιλέως στρατὸν ὑπετόπησεν ἄν τις. The negative particle is used by **Ath** as the second part of a negative construction οὔτε - οὔτε; the second οὔτε however follows below. It is possible that the scribe, confused by the preceding οὔτε, thought that the construction was the triple negative οὔτε - οὔτε - οὔτε.

3.12.z) VI. 17.12 (p. 226, 1-4): πλήθει γὰρ παρὰ πολὺ ἐλασσούμενος τῶν ἐναντίων οὐκ ἤθελεν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέως εἰς χείρας ἰέναι, ἐπεὶ καὶ θανατῶντας τοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσι **τοὺς βαρβάρους** (τοῖς βαρβάροις **Ath**) ἑώρα. An attraction from the previous dative.

3.12.a.a) VI. 18.4 (p. 228, 14-16): διὸ **δὴ** (δὲ **Ath**) οὐδὲ Ναρσῆν εἴων οἱ ἐπιτήδιοι ξὺν Βελισαρίῳ στρατεύεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀνέπειθον, ὅσον αἰσχρὸν εἴη... In manuscripts frequently particles are interchanged. Here the emphatic δὴ is correct as the sentence adds information to the previous one and does not express contrast. Sentences in Procopius often start with the phrase διὸ δὴ, but never with διὸ δε (I.7.3 (p. 30,17-18): διὸ δὴ Καβάδης ἐξ αἰτίας οὐδεμιᾶς ἔγνω ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατεύεσθαι; II.19.5 (p. 232, 8-9): διὸ δὴ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἅπαντας ξυγκαλέσας Βελισάριος ἔλεξε τοιάδε). There is a possibility that the change of δὴ to δὲ has been caused by attraction from the following οὐδέ.

3.12.a.b) VI. 19.4 (p. 233, 6-7): μίαν δὲ εἴσοδον ἐν τῷ **ὁμαλεῖ** (ὁμαλῷ **Ath**) ἔχει πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον. The correct form is ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ, which is used several times in Procopius: II.17.19 (p. 226, 22): μίαν δὲ εἴσοδον ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ ἔχει, καὶ ταύτην οὐ λίαν εὐρεῖαν; VI.23.7 (p. 252, 7-8): εἴσοδον ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ οὐδαμῇ ἔχουσα. It is an attraction from the article τῷ.

3.12.a.c) VI. 24.14 (p. 259, 11-12): οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι ἅτε θαλασσοκρατοῦντες καὶ τὸ ἐν **Ἀγκῶνι** (ἀγκώνιον **Ath**) φρούριον ἔχοντες... The ending -ιο(ν) of proper names in Koine changed to -ιν. Here the scribe did not realise that it is a dative of the name Ἀγκῶν after ἐν; he thought that it was nominative and corrected it to the more archaic form with the ending -ι(ν). There is a possibility that it is an attraction by φρούριον.

3.12.a.d) VI. 25.16 (p. 263, 25-27): ... ἄλλο τι[131] οὐδέν ἐν **χώρᾳ** (χωρίᾳ **Ath**) **ἐρήμῳ** (ἐρήμων **Ath**) ἀνθρώπων ὅτι μὴ βόας τε καὶ τοῦ Πάδου τὸ ὕδωρ προσφέρεσθαι εἶχον. Both noun and adjective are wrong in **Ath**. The adjective has been attracted from the following genitive. As for the noun, Ath's reading is wrong, possibly caused by misreading. The phrase ἐν χώρᾳ ἐρήμῳ (but without genitive) is found in three other cases in the sixth book, and they are transmitted correctly by **Ath** (14.25 (p. 212, p. 14); 25.23 (p. 265, 6); 26.16 (p. 268, 8).

3.12.a.e) VI. 27.27 (p. 274, 8-10): ...ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ κεκακωμένοι οὐδὲν ἧσσον ἐς ταὐτὸν τύχης **τοῖς** (τῆς **Ath**) ἐν Φισούλῃ ἀφίξονται. Attraction from the previous genitive.

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[131] The phrase ἄλλο τι is Haury's emendation. **Ath** does not cast any light on this reading, as it transmits the same reading with **L**: ἄλλο δὲ.

3.12.a.f) VI. 30.21 (p. 292, 2-4): ...ἀλλ' ἀνειπόντες τότε πρὸς τὰ τῆς τύχης ἐναντιώματα **ξυμφορώτατον** (ξυμφορώτατα **Ath**) ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἡγήσασθε εἶναι... This is the impersonal infinitive ξυμφορώτατον εἶναι. The reading of Ath may have been caused by attraction from the ending of the noun ἐναντιώματα.

3.12.a.g) VII. 4.6 (p. 313, 18-20): ...ἐπεὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὴ καὶ πλήθει ὑπεραιρόντων καὶ τούτῳ ἐλασσουμένων τοῖς γε πρὸς **αὐτοὺς** (αὐτοῖς **Ath**) διαμαχησομένοις ἔνδηλος γίνεται. This error possibly has been caused by attraction from τοῖς ... διαμαχησομένοις.

3.12.a.h) VII. 4.18 (p. 315, 20-21): οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλους τινὰς **ἀνθρώπων** (ἀνθρώπους sscr. -ων **Ath**) χωροῦμεν ἢ ὅσοι ἔναγχος ἐν μέσῃ Βερώνῃ γενόμενοι... Possibly an attraction from the accusative τινὰς. The superscript of **Ath** is by the hand, which copied the main text.

3.12.a.i) VII. 7.19 (p. 328, 6-8): Τουτίλας δὲ πᾶσαν αὐτοῖς ἐκ βασιλέως ἀνασοβεῖν ἐλπίδα ἐθέλων τριῶν μηνῶν ἔταξε χρόνον, ἐφ' **ᾧ δὴ** (**L** : ὧν **K**, ὅν **Ath**) μετὰ τοῦτον τὰ ὡμολογημένα ποιήσωσι. The ὧν of **K** refers to μηνῶν, the ὅν of **Ath** to χρόνον (attractions). The ᾧ of **L** is correct; it is the expression "with the stipulation that...". In this case **Ath**'s reading is closer to **K**'s.

3.12.a.j) VII. 9.21 (p. 336, 3-5): ἅπαντα γὰρ ἀωρὶ τῶν νυκτῶν ἐν τοῖς διαφανέσι **τῆς πόλεως** (τοῖς πόλεσι **Ath**) χωρίοις παγέντα, ἐπεὶ ἐγένετο ἡμέρα, ἐγνώσθη. The previous article and adjective in the dative may have attracted the noun.

3.12.a.k) VII. 10.10 (p. 338, 14-16): τοῖς τε πολεμίοις τύχῃ τινὶ **ὑπαντιάσαντες** (ὑπαντιάσασι sscr. -σαντες **Ath**) πρὸς τῇ τῆς θαλάσσης ἠϊόνι ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον. The dative of **Ath** may have been caused by attraction from the surrounding datives, though here the dative has a different form. The superscript of Ath is by the original hand and perhaps it was written after the scribe doublechecked the exemplar.

3.12.a.l) VII. 11.36 (p. 346, 1-2): ἐπεὶ ἐξελεῖν **οὐχ** (τε **Ath**) οἷός τε ἦν, ἄπρακτος ἐν Αὐξίμῳ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησεν. It is impossible that there are two particles τε the one after the other, and on the other hand οὐχ is required for sense. Ath's reading is due to attraction.

3.12.a.m) VII. 13.3 (p. 350, 6-8): οἷς δὴ ἐπισπόμενοι, ἔς τε τὴν δίωξιν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐκπεπτωκότες ἐνέδραις **ὑπὸ** (ταῖς **Ath**) τῶν πολεμίων ἐνέτυχον. Although the reading of **Ath** is sustainable here, I believe that it may be an attraction from the previous noun in dative.

3.12.a.n) VII. 13.15 (p. 351, 20-21): ...ἐπεὶ χρῆν τότε Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι κακῶς, ἢ βεβουλεῦσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν τὰ βελτίω, ἐμπόδιον δὲ τὸν θεὸν **γεγονέναι** (γενέσθαι **Ath**). The infinitive must be in the perfect, because it should co-ordinate with βεβουλεῦσθαι as the two infinitives are the second part of the comparison and they are connected with μὲν and δὲ. The scribe of **Ath** repeats the aorist infinitive, which appears above.

3.12.a.o) VII. 13.17 (p. 352, 3-5): ἀνδρὶ δὲ, οἶμαι, κακοτυχοῦντι εὐβουλία οὐδαμῇ πάρεστι, **παραιρουμένου** (παραιρουμένῳ **Ath**) αὐτὸν ἐπιστήμην τε καὶ ἀληθῆ δόξαν τοῦ χρῆναι παθεῖν. The participle goes with the following genitive τοῦ χρῆναι. The order of words is strange and confuses the scribe who makes the participle agree with the dative κακοτυχούντι.

3.12.a.p) VII. 13.19 (p. 352, 9-10): Βελισάριος δὲ Ἰουστῖνον ἐπὶ **τῇ** (τῆς **Ath**) Ῥαβέννης φυλακῇ καταστησάμενος... Although the reading of Ath is sustainable, the article to define φυλακῇ is more suitable than the article to define the city (attraction). Similar attraction in 14.20 (p. 356, 24): ... ἦν μέντοι γένηται ἐν γῇ **τῇ** (τῶν **Ath**) Ῥωμαίων...

3.12.a.q) VII. 14.33 (p. 359, 11-14): ταύτῃ γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ **τῇ** ἀμφ αὐτὴν **χώρᾳ** (Hoesch. in marg. : τῇ - χώραν **K**, τὴν - χωρία **L**, τὴν - χώραν **Ath**) Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἅτε προσηκούσῃ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ῥωμαίοις ὡμολόγει δεδωρῆσεσθαι... The variant of **Ath** may have come from attraction from αὐτὴν. The reading of **L** is unsuitable as for its meaning. It may have come from misreading.

3.12.a.r) VII. 17.11 (p. 371, 16-17): ...τῆς ἀνάγκης αὐτοῖς ἡδίστην τε καὶ τρυφερωτάτην **ποιούσης** (ποιήσειν sscr. -ούσης **Ath**) τὴν βρῶσιν. The original reading of **Ath** is wrong, because the participle is needed to go with the noun ἀνάγκης. Possibly the error was caused by attraction from the endings of the surrounding words. Afterwards the scribe superscribed the correct ending. The superscript is by the original hand. In all later manuscripts examined the participle appears.

3.12.a.s) VII. 17.13 (p. 371, 22-24): ...ὁ δὲ δὴ ἄλλος ἅπας ὅμιλος τὰς ἀκαλήφας μόνας ἤσθιον, **οἷαι** (οἷον αἱ **Ath**) πολλαὶ ἀμφὶ τὸν περίβολον κἀν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις πανταχὴ τῆς πόλεως φύονται. I suggest that this is a simple attraction from the ending -ον of the previous verb.

3.12.a.t) VII. 18.1 (p. 373, 17-18): ... Ἰωάννης μὲν ἅπαντας διαπορθμευσαμένους ἠξίου τὸν κόλπον **πεζῇ** (πεζοὺς sscr. -ῇ **Ath**) ἰόντας παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ... The correct form is certainly the reading of most manuscripts. This phrase is used several times by Procopius (e.g. 18.2 (p. 373, 21), 18.4 (p. 374, 8). The original reading of **Ath** may have been caused by attraction from ἰόντας. Later manuscripts transmit the correct reading. A similar error, which may be a phonetic error, appears in 18.15 (p. 376, 6): **πεζοὶ** (πεζῇ **Ath**).

3.12.a.u) VII. 18.24 (p. 377, 18-20): ...ἕπεσθαι σφίσιν αἴσθησιν αὐτοῖς οὐδεμίαν παρεχομένοις. **αὐτῷ** (αὐτοῖς **Ath**) γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα μελήσειν. The scribe of **Ath** changes the pronoun due to attraction from the previous participle. In reality the pronoun refers to the name Totila, which appears five lines above.

3.12.a.v) VII. 19.12 (p. 380, 13-15): πέμψας δὲ καὶ παρὰ Βέσσαν τῇ προτεραίᾳ ἐκέλευε τῇ ἐπιγενησομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ πολλῷ στρατῷ **ἐπεξιόντα** (**K** : ἐπεξιόντι **Ath**, ἐξιόντι **L**) ξυνταράξαι τὰ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδα. The preposition ἐπὶ is necessary. The correct case is the accusative, because in Procopius the verb κελεύειν usually goes with accusative rather than with dative. The datives of **L** and **Ath** are caused by attraction by πολλῷ στρατῷ. However, the reading of **Ath** is superior to **L** in this case.

3.12.a.w) VII. 19.30 (p. 383, 16-17): ...ἐς ἀφασίαν ἐμπέπτωκεν οὐ γεγονὸς αὐτῷ πρότερον **τοῦτό** (τούτου **Ath**) γε. The definite pronoun here is not the second part of the comparison; it defines the word γεγονὸς. The scribe of **Ath** changed the case of the pronoun possibly due to attraction.

3.12.a.x) VII. 20.15 (p. 387, 4-5): ...τά τε σιδήρια ξύμπαντα, **οἷς** (αἷς **Ath**) δὴ τὰς κλεῖς ἀεὶ οἱ φύλακες ἐμβαλλόμενοι ἔκλειον... By attraction the scribe thought that the pronoun goes to the following feminine τὰς κλεῖς.

3.12.a.y) VII. 22.14 (p. 397, 1-3): ...διαφθείραντι δὲ φιλανθρωπίας τε οὐδεὶς ἔτι λελείψεται λόγος καὶ προσέσται τὸ μηδὲν τοῦ

ἔργου (λόγου **Ath**) ἀπόνασθαι. The word ἔργου is necessary for the meaning: "it is certain that no plea for mercy will any longer be left to you, and in addition to this you will have reaped no benefit from the deed". It is a possible attraction by λόγος which appears before in the same sentence.

3.12.a.z) VII. 22.19 (p. 397, 19-21): Ῥωμαίων μέντοι **τοὺς** (τῶν **Ath**) μὲν ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ξὺν αὐτῷ εἶχε... The article refers to the members of the senate and must be in the accusative as the object of εἶχε. The genitive of **Ath** is due to attraction from Ῥωμαίων.

3.12.b.a) VII. 24.14 (p. 403, 23-24): γέγονεν οὖν φόνος τῶν βαρβάρων ἅτε ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ βαλλομένων **πολὺς** (πολλῶν **Ath**)... The change of the ending is due to attraction from the previous word. The adjective is not immediately preceded or followed by the noun it characterises (φόνος), so the scribe fails to copy the correct case and he assimilate it to the word next to it (βαλλομένων). A similar case appears in VII. 37.12 (p. 464, 20-21): ἐν ἐλπίδι τε παρῆνει **μηδεμια** (μηδεμίαν **Ath**) ἔχειν, δύναμιν ἑτέραν τινὰ ἐκ βασιλέως σφίσιν ἀφίξεσθαι. The dative is necessary because it characterises the dative ἐλπίδι. **Ath** assimilates μηδεμίαν with the following δύναμιν.

3.12.b.b) VII. 25.10 (p. 409, 6-7): ...ἡ δὲ πεῖρά τισι γινομένη διδάσκαλος **κρείσσω** (**L** : κρείσσων **K**, κρείσσον **Ath**) τὸν ἐκμαθόντα τῶν οὐ τετυχηκότων τῆς διδασκαλίας τῷ παντὶ τίθησιν. The correct form of the comparative accusative is κρείσσω or κρείσσονα. There is a possibility that the original was κρείσσονα and **Ath** omits the final *-α* with the aim of agreeing with the following accusative. I believe that **K**'s reading is caused by attraction from the following accusative. However the most plausible is the κρείσσω of **L**. Errors in anomalous comparatives are frequent in manuscripts.

3.12.b.c) VII. 27.1 (p. 416, 25-26): ...γράμμασι **τοῖς** (τοῦ **Ath**) Βελισαρίου ἠγμένος... An attraction from the following genitive.

3.12.b.d) VII. 27.6 (p. 417, 19-20): ἢ δυνάμει **μεγάλῃ** (πολλῇ **Ath**) χρῆται, ἢ ἀνοίᾳ πολλῇ ἔχεται. The power is counted as quantity, but here the scribe is confused by the following πολλῇ. This again shows that the scribe was able to read a long part of the text from his exemplar and while he was transferring it he changed some words. All later manuscripts transmit μεγάλῃ.

3.12.b.e) VII. 32.7 (p. 434, 19-22): ...τοῦ δὲ πατρὸς ἀνηρημένου ἐπὶ ξυνθηκῶν τε καὶ ξυμβάσεως **λόγῳ** (λόγου **Ath**), παντὸς δὲ τοῦ

ξυγγενοῦς δεδουλωμένου... **Ath** is confused by the preceding genitives.

3.12.b.f) VII. 34.6 (p. 445, 13-14): ἐν **τοῖς πρῶτοι οὖν** (δὲ τοῖς πρώτοις **Ath**) Λαγγοβάρδαι βασιλεῖ ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθόντες ἔλεξαν τοιάδε. The phrase ἐν τοῖς meaning "while these things were happening" is not frequently used. So the scribe fits the adjective to the article changing it to dative, due to attraction. In addition, the use of δὲ by **Ath** is not suitable here, as there is no preceding μὲν in the sentence to co-ordinate; the use of οὖν of all other manuscripts is suitable in this kind of narrative.

3.12.b.g) VII. 35.4 (p. 453, 20-23): ἦν τις Βελισαρίῳ κλῆρος ἐν Βυζαντίων **τῷ προαστείῳ** (τῶν προαστείων **Ath**), ὃ δὴ Παντείχιον μὲν ὀνομάζεται... This is a case of attraction by the preceding ending –τίων. Similar case: 40.6 (p. 476, 22-24): ὃς δὴ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθὼν **τῷ** τῶν πολεμίων **στρατῷ** (τὸν - στρατὸν **Ath**) κατὰ κράτος τε μάχῃ νικήσας σχεδόν τι ἅπαντας ἔκτεινε...

3.12.b.h) VII. 40.9 (p. 477, 15-17): ...ἐν δὲ εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀγαθοῖς πράγμασι τά τε νόμιμα καὶ τὸν τῆς πολιτείας **κόσμον** (νόμον sscr. κόσ- **Ath**) βεβαιότατα φυλάσσειν ἐξεπιστάμενος... The reading of **Ath** is caused by attraction by the word νόμιμα above. Perhaps the scribe himself wrote the correction above when he realised his error. All later manuscripts examined transmit the correct term.

3.12.b.i) VIII. 5.24 (p. 507, 17-20): φασὶ Σκύθας τε τηνικάδε ... καλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἀνθρώπους, **τεκμηριούμενοι** (τεκμηριουμένοις **Ath**) τοῖς ἀμφί τε Ὀρέστῃ καὶ πόλει Κομάνῃ... The dative of **Ath** is not justified. Perhaps it is an attraction from the following article.

3.12.b.j) VIII. 5.30 (p. 508, 15-17): ...φερόμενός τε ἐπὶ **τὰ** (τῶν **Ath**) Δακῶν καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης χωρία... The change of the article here affects the meaning, therefore the article τὰ is necessary. There is an attraction in **Ath** from the following genitive.

3.12.b.k) VIII. 6.13 (p. 511, 23-24): καὶ **αὐτῶν** (αὐτῆς **Ath**) Λιβύης μὲν καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Νεῖλον τὸν Αἰγύπτιον ποταμὸν μεταξὺ φέρεσθαι... Attraction from the following word.

3.12.b.l) VIII. 12.31 (p. 551, 23-26): ἡνίκα μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥώμης φυλακτηρίῳ ἐτέτακτο, ἐλπίδα Ῥωμαῖοι **πολλὴν** (πολλὰ **Ath**) ἐπ

αὐτῷ εἶχον ἅτε ἀνδρειοτάτῳ διαγεγονότι τὰ **πρότερον** (πρότερα **Ath**). These are both attractions, the first from the ending –α of ἐλπίδα and the second from the article τὰ.

3.12.b.m) VIII. 13.27 (p. 556, 23-24): οἱ δὲ ἀποκρινάμενοι ἰέναι μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευον ὅπη **βούλοιτο** (βούλοιντο **Ath**), ἰσχυρίσαντο μέντοι ὡς... The plural is not suitable, because the verb does not go with ἀποκρινάμενοι, but with αὐτὸν ("...they ordered him to go wherever he wanted"). Attraction from the following verb.

3.12.b.n) VIII. 14.2 (p. 557, 18-19): ...ἀλλ' ὅσον ἄνοδον ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου τινὰ ἐς αὐτὰς οὐχ **ὁμαλῆ** (ὁμαλὴν **L**, ὁμαλοῦ **Ath**) εἶναι. The genitive of **Ath** is wrong, because the adjective goes with the accusative ἄνοδον and not with πεδίου. There is a possibility that the error has been caused by an abbreviated ending.

3.13. Errors due to possible misunderstanding of abbreviations and ligatures

The misunderstanding of abbreviations is a cause of some mistakes in **Ath**. However, I suggest that most of the misunderstandings originate from previous copies of the text; for example a frequent misunderstanding is of the ι subscribed and of the final ν, which means that it originated from manuscripts which have the ι written next to the vowel. None of the manuscripts belonging to the fifteenth century onwards transmit the same misunderstandings of abbreviations but they misunderstand some abbreviations in other cases, although in much fewer cases than in **Ath**.

3.13.a) V. 17.12 (p. 88, 7-10): Οὐίττιγις οὖν οὐκ ἀναμείνας τὸν χρόνον σφίσιν ἐνταῦθα τρίβεσθαι κατὰ τάχος **ἐνθένδε** (ἐνθάδε **Ath**) ἀπαλλαγεὶς τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ἦει, διὰ Σαβίνων τὴν πορείαν ποιούμενος. The reading of **Ath** is definitely wrong. The necessary adverb is what all other manuscripts transmit, meaning "from there". In that case what confuses the scribe of **Ath** is the verb with which the adverb goes. Usually ἐνθένδε goes with motion verbs; here it is accompanied by ἀπαλλαγεὶς and the scribe changes it, without realising that the use of ἀπαλλάσσομαι here shows movement with the meaning "departure from there". There is a possibility that the error is due to the misunderstanding of the ligature εν ( ) and the letter α ( ). Note that generally the scribe of **Ath** has a difficulty with the adverb ἐνθένδε (see above, pp. 50-2).

3.13.b) V. 22.25 (p. 112, 18-21): παρῆν δὲ ἤδη καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος δεδιξάμενός τε τοὺς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀποπειρασάμενους καὶ ῥᾳδίως ὡσάμενος, ἐπεὶ οὐ παντάπασιν ἀφύλακτον, ὥσπερ ᾤοντο, τὸ **ἐκείνῃ** (ἐκείνου **Ath**) τείχισμα εὗρον. In this cases, the scribe may have thought that the adjective refers to the nearest noun, ποταμοῦ, which would not make sense. The later manuscripts transmit ἐκείνῃ. This case again may be a misunderstanding of the ligature ου ( ) and η ( ).

3.13.c) VI. 1.16 (p. 152, 5-7): ...σιωπὴν μὲν ὁ Ῥωμαῖος εἶχεν, ἄτερος δὲ τῇ **πατρίῳ** (πατρίᾳ **Ath**) γλώσσῃ ἔναγχος ἔφασκεν ἐν τῇ γενομένῃ τροπῇ ἐμπεπτωκέναι... The adjective πάτριος is either three gender (πάτριος, -α, -ον) and this is what **Ath** uses (πατρίᾳ γλώσσῃ), or two gender (πάτριος, -ος, -ον) and this is the reading of all other manuscripts. I believe that the correct reading is that of most manuscripts, because contemporary writers used this.[132] This is the only phrase in Procopius where γλώσσα and πάτριος appear together. There is a possibility that the variant of Ath have come from misunderstanding of the ligature ῳ ( ) and ᾳ ( ).

3.13.d) VI. 1.17 (p. 152, 10-13): ... λαβόμενος δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαῖος τῶν βρόχων ἵλκετο ἄνω, τοιοῦτον εἰπών, ὡς, ἢν μὲν **αὐτὸς** (οὗτος **Ath**) ἀναβαίνοι πρῶτος, οὔποτε τοῦ ἑταίρου ἀμελήσειν τοὺς Γότθους, ἢν δέ γε τὸν πολέμιον... **Ath changes the demonstrative pronoun to οὗτος. I believe that the correct form is αὐτὸς as this is frequently used by Procopius in similar cases.[133] Possibly the error comes from misunderstanding of the ligature αυ ( ) and ου ( ).**

3.13.e) VI. 4.15 (p. 167, 12-15): ... ἤδη μάλλον ἐλύπουν τοὺς πολεμίους ἅτε αὐτῶν τὸ ἐπιτείχισμα οὐκ ἄποθεν ὂν συχνά τε καταθέοντες καὶ τῷ **ἀπροσδοκήτῳ** (ἀπροσδοκήτων **Ath**) ἐκπλήσσοντες ἀεὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια παραπέμποντας... **This error comes from the exemplar of Ath; the exemplar or a previous manuscript transmitted the dative with**

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[132] Johannes Philop. *De Aet. Mundi*, p.331,21: τὴν πάτριον παράδοσιν; Agathias, p. 11,8: τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν; p.63,17: ἡ πάτριος ἱστορίᾳ; Stephanus, *Ethn.*, p.255,13: τῇ πατρίῳ γλώσσῃ.

[133] **Note the tendency of the scribe of Ath to change the breathing in αὐτὸς and change the pronoun to demonstrative is very frequent. Parallels for the use of αὐτὸς instead of οὗτός are** I.1.1 (p.4,7): ὥνπερ τὴν μνήμην αὐτὸς ᾤετο μέγα τι ἔσεσθαι; II.4.2 (p.162,21-163,1): ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐν αἰγοκέρῳ ἦν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν τοξότῃ.

abbreviated ending; therefore the last letter and the *iota* adscriptum was mistaken for the genitive ending by **Ath**.

3.13.f) VI. 4.17 (p. 167, 22-24): καὶ λοιμὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπεισπεσὼν πολλοὺς ἔφθειρε, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, ὅπερ **αὐτοῖς** (αὐτῶν **Ath**, αὐτοὺς **K**) ἀγχοῦ τῆς Ἀππίας ὁδοῦ ὕστατον... The dative is correct. **Ath** may have written αὐτῶν because ἄγχου takes genitive. Later manuscripts agree either with **L** or with **K**. This may be again misunderstanding of an abbreviation.

3.13.g) VI. 18.20 (p. 230, 23-24): ὥστε νῦν μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἢ πρότερον ἐν **κινδύνῳ** (κινδύνοις **Ath**) τὰ πράγματα κεῖται... The plural used by **Ath** is not wrong according to the usage of Procopius; he uses the word either in the singular or plural with the meaning "in danger". However, when he speaks about general dangers, he uses the plural (see III.20.8 (p. 397, 20-21): ...καὶ αὐτῷ ἐν κινδύνοις γενησομένῳ ξυλλήψονται ὅση δύναμις; VII.10.15 (p. 339, 5-7): ὅτι τάχιστα παραγενέσθαι σφίσιν ἐν κινδύνοις τισὶ χαλεποῖς οὖσιν). Here the danger is specific: a possible attack from Rome.

3.13.h) VI. 22.9 (p. 248, 17-20): ...καὶ αὐτοῖς πολλὰ βουλευσαμένοις... **ἔδοξεν** (ἔδοξαν **Ath**) ἄλλων τινῶν βαρβάρων ἐπικουρίαν ἐπάγεσθαι. The verb should be in singular, because it is impersonal. The scribe may have misread the abbreviated ending of the verb.

3.13.i) VII. 14.21 (p. 357, 7-9): ...μεγάλα σφίσιν οἰόμενοι ἀγαθὰ ἔσεσθαι, **κυρίοις** (κυρίους **Ath**) ἤδη τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῦ Χιλβουδίου γεγενημένοις. The participle at the end which goes with κυρίοις is in dative.

3.13.n) VII. 19.16 (p. 381, 9-10): ...ὅπως δὴ μηδὲ ὅσον ἐς τὴν γέφυραν ἰέναι οἱ ἐναντίοι εὐπετῶς **δύνωνται** (δύνανται **Ath**)... The subjunctive is necessary, because of the ὅπως. It may be misreading of the letter α ( ) and ω ( ). Generally the scribe of **Ath** does not pay attention to the moods of the verbs in secondary sentences.

3.13.q) VII. 31.4 (p. 431, 14016): ...αὐτὸς δε, καίπερ Λιβύης ὅλης στρατηγὸς καταστὰς, ἔχρηζε βασιλέως, ἀναπλάσας τινὰς οὐχ ὑγιεῖς σκήψεις, ὅπως αὐτὸς ἐς Βυζάντιον **μεταπέμποιτο** (μεταπέμποντο **Ath**). Neither the plural nor the indicative of the verb transmitted by **Ath** are suitable. The error is caused from

palaeographical reasons: misunderstanding of the ligature οι ( ) and ον ( ).

3.13.r) VII. 34.1 (p. 444, 19-20): Οὕτω μὲν οἱ βάρβαροι **διεδάσαντο** (διεδώσαντο **Ath**) τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν. **Ath changes an α to ω due to an erroneous reading.**

3.13.s) VII. 37.6 (p. 464, 1-3): Στέφανόν τε ἄνδρα Ῥωμαῖον παρὰ βασιλέα πρεσβευτὴν ἔπεμψε, τὸν μὲν πόλεμον τόνδε καταλύειν **αἰτῶν** (αὐτὸν **Ath**). **The participle is necessary for the infinitive to depend on and to state the purpose of "the emperor sending the envoy". Perhaps a confusion of the ligature αι ( ) and αυ ( ).**

3.13.t) VII. 37.14 (p. 465, 4-5): ...ἢ κακῶν ἀπαθέσιν ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλασσομένοις ἐπὶ **Βυζαντίου** (Βυζάντιον **Ath**) κομίζεσθαι. **As there is a motion verb (κομίζεσθαι), perhaps the scribe is confused with ἐς + accusative. More plausibly it is a misunderstanding of the ligature ου ( ) and ον ( ).**[134]

3.13.u) VIII. 12.13 (p. 549, 3-4): βουλεύσεσθε δὲ ὑμεῖς δηλονότι, **ὥνπερ** (ἄνπερ ζῆν **L**, ἄνπερ **Ath**) ἀξίοις ὑμῖν ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. **The link of L with Ath is noticeable; but this is not the correct pronoun, because the genitive is necessary. The infinitive of L perhaps is an explanatory note, which intruded into the text.**

[134] **In Procopius the syntax ἐπὶ plus genitive is used to show the destination (= "to"), e.g.,** IV.26.5 (p. 536, 21-22): κατὰ τάχος Καρχηδόνα ἀπολιπὼν ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου κομίζοιτο; VII.9.19 (p. 335, 18-20): τῶν τισιν αἰχμαλώτων ὁ Τουτίλας ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἐκέλευεν ἰόντας τοῖς ἐκ βουλῆς διδόναι.

3.14. Haplographies / Dittographies[135]

3.14.a) VI. 6. 16 (p. 176, 10-13): Ζήνων δὲ τότε τῆς ἑῴας κρατῶν καὶ τιμωρεῖν μὲν τῷ ξυμβεβασιλευκότι βουλόμενος καὶ τοῦ τυράννου **τήνδε** (**K** : τὴν δὲ **L**, τήνδε δὲ **Ath**) τὴν χώραν ἐλευθεροῦν, Ὀδοάκρου δὲ καταλῦσαι τὴν δύναμιν οὐχ οἷός τε ὤν... The reading of **Ath** with the addition of δὲ is not correct. The scribe thought that a δὲ was necessary to co-ordinate with μὲν in the previous sentence (but this is found in the next one). I suggest that the addition of δὲ in **Ath** has nothing to do with the pronoun τήνδε and I do not think that it is simply a dittography. The reading of **L** is also wrong, because as the article and the particle are separated it gives the wrong meaning and syntax.

3.14.b) VI. 9.17 (p. 191, 23-24): ... καὶ αὐτοῖς τὸν οἶνον τρόπῳ ὅτῳ δὴ **φιλοφροσύνην** (repeats **Ath**) ἐνδεικνυμένους χαρίζεσθαι... The repetition of the noun is just carelessness by **Ath** (dittography). Repetitions also in 16.18 (p. 223, 4-5): Ἀράτιον μὲν ξὺν χιλίοις ἀνδράσιν **αὐτοῦ** (αὐτοῦ αὐτοῦ **Ath**) ἔλιπεν...; 22.6 (p. 248, 1-5): οὐ δὴ ἐντυχόντες τῷ Οὐραΐᾳ στρατῷ, ἀνδράποδά τε καὶ ἄλλα ζῷα ὅσα ἐπῆγον **τοῖς πολεμίοις** (τοῖς πολεμίοις τοῖς πολεμίοις **Ath**) ἀπέδοντο, καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ κεκομισμένοι ἀπώμοσαν, μήποτε Γότθοις ἀντιτάξεσθαι ἢ εἰς χεῖρας ἰέναι.

3.14.c) VI. 11.9 (p. 197, 21-22): ... καὶ τῶν ἐν Φλαμηνίᾳ **ὁδῷ ὀχυρωμάτων** (ὁδῷ ὁδῷ **Ath**) ἥκιστα ἐθέλοντες ἄγχιστά πη ἰέναι ... The scribe duplicates the word ὁδῷ and omits the ὀχυρωμάτων due to his carelessness, because both words start with the same letter (dittography).

3.14.d) VI. 11.21 (p. 199, 15-17): ἐνθένδε τε ἐς Ἀγκῶνα ἐλθόντες καὶ πολλοὺς **ἀπαγαγόμενοι** (ἀπαγόμενοι **Ath**) τῶν ἐκείνῃ πεζῶν ἐς Ἀρίμινον τριταῖοι ἀφίκοντο ... The necessary tense here for the participle is the aorist, because it should be parallel to ἐλθόντες. Here is a simple haplography.

3.14.e) VI. 11.22 (p. 199, 18-19): Ἰωάννης δὲ οὔτε αὐτὸς ἕπεσθαι ἤθελε καὶ Δαμιανὸν ξὺν **τοῖς** (τε **Ath**) τετρακοσίοις κατεῖχεν. The four hundred men is the specific number of soldiers Damianus had (see above 7.26 (p. 184). So the article is necessary (dittography) and the τε is unsuitable.

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[135] None of the following cases of haplographies or dittographies appear in later manuscripts.

3.14.f) VII. 25.14 (p. 409, 20-22): ...ἐπειδὴ ξυνέβη Βελισάριον κρεῖσσον λόγου θράσος ἐλόμενον τῶν **ἐγκεχειρημένων αὐτῷ** (**K** : ἐγχειρημένων αὐτῷ **Ath**, ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ **L**) παρὰ δόξαν κρατεῖν... **Ath** just omits the reduplication (haplography). The reading of **L** may have come due to the fact that the scribe was not familiar with the meaning of ἐγχειρεῖν, so he paraphrases it.

3.14.h) VII. 40.27 (p. 480, 19-22): ...Ἰωάννην δὲ τὸν αὐτοῦ κηδεστὴν καὶ Ἰουστινιανὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα παντὶ τῷ προς Γερμανοῦ **συλλεγέντι** (repeat **Ath**) στρατῷ εἶναι... A simple repetition of the same word.

3.14.i) VIII. 4.2 (p. 500, 14-15): τοῖς δὲ δὴ Ζήχοις κατὰ μὲν παλαιὸν ὁ Ῥωμαίων **αὐτοκράτωρ** (αὐτοκρατοκρατωρ **Ath**) βασιλέα καθίστη... This is just a repetition after the syllable -το- (dittography).

3.14.j) VIII. 9.3 (p. 525, 20-22): ἔλεγόν τε ὡς Δαγισθαῖος ... τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἐς ἕτερον τινα χρόνον ἀπέθετο, καὶ τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν ἀκμὴν ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα **μεθῆκεν** (μεμάθηκεν **Ath**). **Ath** may have added the syllable -μα, forming the perfect of a more frequently used verb (μανθάνω), perhaps due to the fact that he was not familiar with μεθῆκεν.

3.15. Possible misunderstanding of meaning

The following errors may have been caused, because the scribe may have misunderstood the meaning of the sentence. Most of the cases listed below are very confusing as regards the word order and in addition they are long or parenthetical sentences, a fact that confuses the scribe.

3.15.a) V. 1.11 (p. 151, 16-18): ... ἐς βαθεῖαν τινα κατώρυχα ἐμπίπτει, οἷαι (οἷα **K**) **πολλαι** (πολλοῖς, sscr. -ὰ **Ath**) τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις πρὸς σίτου παρακαταθήκην ἐνταῦθα, οἶμαι, πεποίηνται. The adjective πολλαὶ refers to οἷαι. The scribe may have been confused by the fact that the relative pronoun οἷαι refers to the noun κατώρυχα in singular; so he does not know at first to what the pronoun and the adjective refer, so he links πολλοῖς to what follows, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις (attraction). The fact that there is a superscribed -α above the ending -οῖς in **Ath** by the original hand, may suggest that the scribe mistook κατώρυχα for a neuter plural (the same is implied by the mistake οἷα in **K**).

3.15.b) V. 2.11 (p. 11,21-23): ξυλλεγέντες τε, ὅσοι δὴ ἐν αὐτοῖς λόγιμοι ἦσαν καὶ παρὰ τὴν Ἀμαλασοῦνθαν ἐλθόντες ἠτιῶντο οὐκ ὀρθῶς σφίσιν **οὐδὲ ἡ ξυμφέρει τὸν βασιλέα παιδεύεσθαι** (οὐδέει τὸν βασιλέα ξυμφέρει **L**, οὐδέ οἱ τὸν βασιλέα παιδεύεσθαι **Suda**, οὐδὲ ξυμφέρον (sscr. -ει) τὸν βασιλέα παιδεύεσθαι **Ath**). **L** transmits a definitely wrong reading and the phrase transmitted by *Suda* cannot stand; the reading of **Ath** does not seem correct either, even if the ending of ξυμφέρον appears to have been corrected to -ει by the same scribal hand. It is certain that the reading, which the editor accepts is the correct one. Scribes often cannot recognise the form of the word ἡ and often get it wrong. Most of the later manuscripts transmit the version of **L**.

The mistake of **Ath** may go back to a previous scribe. First of all, a scribe omits the ἡ, which frequently causes problems (note οἱ in *Suda*) and might have dropped out, either because he does not know what it is, or because it does not appear in the manuscript which he was copying from. I believe that the second is more likely. As the first part of the negative sentence begins with the adverb ὀρθῶς, a previous scribe may have thought that the second began in the same way, so he has written οὐκ ὀρθῶς ... οὐδὲ ξυμφερόντως... Later, the scribe of **Ath** copied the word without the ending -τως, and then he realised that the word ξυμφέρον is not suitable there, so he corrects it changing the ending.

3.15.c) V. 2.24 (p. 157, 17-21): Βαλεριανὸς δὲ καὶ Μαρτῖνος τὰ ποιούμενα κατεῖδόν τε καὶ οἱ ἐπιβεβοηθηκότες ὡς τάχιστα ἔτρεψάν τε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοῦ χαλινοῦ τοῦ Βώχα ἵππου ἄμφω **λαβομένω** (λαβομένου **L**, λαβομένος sscr. -ου **Ath**) ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀφίκοντο. This mistake has to do again with the lack of the use of a grammatical phenomenon in the time of the scribe; here, the dual of the participle is not recognised by the scribes of **L** and **Ath**, or most possibly by the scribe of their exemplar. We observe here again the relation of **L** and **Ath**. All manuscripts copied in more recent centuries agree either with **L** or with **K** and none with the original reading of **Ath**.

3.15.d) V. 5.3 (p. 25,12-20): ἄρχοντες δὲ ἦσαν λόγιμοι μὲν Κωνσταντῖνός τε καὶ Βέσσας, ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης χωρίων, Περάνιος δὲ ἐξ Ἰβηρίας τῆς ἄγχιστα Μήδων, γενόμενος μὲν τῶν ἐκ βασιλέως Ἰβήρων, αὐτόμολος δὲ πρότερον ἐς Ῥωμαίους κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ Περσῶν ἥκων, καταλόγων δὲ **ἱππικῶν** (λαβὼν **Ath**) μὲν Βαλεντῖνός τε καὶ Μάγνος καὶ Ἰννοκέντιος, πεζῶν δὲ Ἡρωδιανός τε καὶ Παῦλος καὶ Δημήτριος καὶ Οὐρσικῖνος, ἀρχηγὸς δὲ Ἰσαύρων Ἔννης. The scribe replaces the word ἱππικῶν of all other manuscripts with the word λαβών and this replacement

cannot be explained; ἱππικῶν μὲν is essential, because the two parts of the sentence have a corresponding syntax. None of the later manuscripts from the fifteenth century onwards transmit the wrong reading.

3.15.e) V. 15.2 (p. 79,7-9): στρατιώτας τέ οἱ Βελισάριος οὐ **πολλοὺς** (πολλαῖς **Ath**) ἔδωκεν, ὅπως αὐτῷ ξυμφυλάξωσι τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία. The scribe may be confused here, because immediately after the word πολλούς the verb ἔδωκεν follows, which takes the dative as indirect object and accusative as direct. A similar error in VI. 9.17 (p. 191, 25-27): ... ἑκάστῳ τε ἐς τὴν κύλικα ὑπνωτικὸν ἐμβαλεῖν φάρμακον, ὅπερ σφίσιν **αὐτὸς** (αὐτοῖς **Ath**) ἐδεδώκει. In this case the reading of **Ath** is possible.

3.15.f) V. 22.14 (p. 110, 14-17): τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τάφον οἱ παλαιοὶ ἄνθρωποι (ἐδόκει γαὰ τῇ πόλει ἐπιτείχισμα εἶναι) **τειχίσμασι** (om. **Ath**) δύο ἐς **αὐτὸν** (**K** : αὐτὴν **L**, αὐτοὺς **Ath**) ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου διήκουσι περιβάλλουσι καὶ μέρος εἶναι τοῦ τείχους πεποίηνται. Given that **Ath** omits τειχίσμασι, this is the sentence transmitted by **Ath** without the parenthesis: τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τάφον οἱ παλαιοὶ ἄνθρωποι ἐδόκει γὰρ τῇ πόλει ἐπιτείχισμα εἶναι δύο ἐς αὐτοὺς... and this may be the reason why he changes the pronoun to plural accusative in order to refer to ἄνθρώπους. The variant of **L** makes the pronoun refer to πόλιν. The fact that all variants are in accusative shows that syntactically the scribes tried to be correct, but they could not understand to which noun the pronoun refers. Alternatively the error may be due to an abbreviated ending. The correct reading is of course αὐτὸν transmitted by most manuscripts; it refers to τάφον. The later manuscripts transmit the correct case.

3.15.g) V. 26.13 (p. 129, 14-17): ἑτέρωθι δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκ πόλεως Οστίας ἐς Ῥώμην **ἰόντι** (ἰόντος **Ath**) ὑλώδης τε ἡ ὁδὸς ἐστι καὶ ἄλλως ἀπημελημένη καὶ οὐδὲ τῆς τοῦ Τιβέριδος ἡιόνος ἐγγὺς... **Ath** does not understand the meaning of ἰόντι ("to someone who goes") and thinks that the participle refers to the genitive ποταμοῦ. The genitive is not transmitted by any of the later manuscripts.

3.15.h) VI. 3.2 (p. 160, 1-2): ... ἐφύλασσον δὲ ὅπως αὐτοῖς **μηδὲν** (μετὰ **Ath**) τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐσκομίζοιτο. Although the phrase μετὰ plus genitive is common, and this may be the fact that confuses the scribe, it gives the wrong meaning. Without the μηδὲν the sentence does not have a subject.

3.15.i) VI. 6.27 (p. 178, 13-14): ... ἧς δὴ ἐκτὸς **Λιβύην** (λιβυίς **Ath**) ὑμᾶς ἀσφαλῶς κεκτῆσθαι οὐ δυνατόν. The scribe uses the genitive of the noun (with a phonetic error), because he does not realise that the adverb ἐκτὸς refers to the previous genitive ἧς. This is wrong because the noun is the object of κεκτῆσθαι and so the accusative is necessary.

3.15.j) VI. 15.8 (p. 215,25 - 216,1): ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐς ταύτην ἰέναι τὴν νῆσον τῶν τε εἰρημένων **αὐτόπτῃ** (**L** : αὐτόπτης **Ath**, αὐτόπτην **K**) γενέσθαι, καίπερ γλιχομένῳ, τρόπῳ οὐδενὶ ξυνηνέχθη. The syntax is complicated here and the scribes are confused. The dative personal ἐμοῖ, because of the verb γενέσθαι, takes dative and this is αὐτόπτῃ. The second dative γλιχομένῳ is transmitted correctly, perhaps because it is in a different phrase. The readings of **K** and **Ath** are wrong syntactically; the scribes are confused, because the ἐμοῖ and αὐτόπτῃ are located far from each other.

3.15.k) VI. 20.27 (p. 240, 2-5): καὶ λέγονται γυναῖκες δύο ἐν ἀγρῷ τινι ὑπερ Ἀριμίνου πόλεως ἄνδρας ἑπτακαίδεκα ἐδηδοκέναι, **ἅσπερ** (ὅπερ **Ath**) ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ μόνας περιεῖναι ξυνέπεσε. The scribe changes the pronoun to neuter, because this is the most frequently used pronoun (the female accusative is used in *Wars* only nineteen times). None of the later manuscripts agree with **Ath**.

3.15.l) VI. 22.6 (p. 248, 1-5): οὓ δὴ ἐντυχόντες τῷ **Οὐραΐᾳ** (οὐραΐας **Ath**) στρατῷ... Misunderstanding of the meaning: the dative is an adjective and not possessive genitive.

3.15.m) VI. 26.7 (p. 266, 12-13): Γότθῳ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ ἔξω γενέσθαι τοῦ περιβόλου **ἀμήχανά** (ἀμήχανον **Ath**) ἐστι. The scribe of **Ath** changes the ending, because he is confused by the impersonal phrases like καλὸν ἐστὶ etc + infinitive. In Procopius the phrase ἀμήχανον ἐστὶ never appears while ἀμήχανα is used thirty-nine times. None of the later manuscripts share this mistake.

3.15.n) VII. 5.13 (p. 319, 23-24): ἤδη δὲ καὶ **ὁ λοιπὸς** (οἱ λοιποὶ **Ath**) τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἀφικόμενοι... The noun στρατὸς does not allow the plural adjective οἱ λοιποὶ. This is the only time the word λοιπὸς is used by Procopius in all of his works. The plural is inspired by ἀφικόμενοι, as the scribe memorized the whole sentence. The plural appears more frequently in the known literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (one hundred and fifteen times and singular only thirteen). Later manuscripts transmit the singular.

3.15.o) VII. 12.3 (p. 347, 3-5): ὧν οὐδ' ἄν τις μὴ διαρκῶς ἔχων πόλεμον, οἶμαι, διενεγκεῖν **οὐ** (εἰ **Ath**) μή ποτε ἱκανὸς εἴη. The negative particle is necessary for the meaning (οὐ μὴ ... = "certainly not", strongly affirmative) and for the syntax. What confuses the scribe is the negative particle μὴ which frequently is preceded by the conditional εἰ.[136]

3.15.p) VII. 27.15 (p. 418,25 - 419,2): τριακοσίους δὲ τῶν αὐτῷ ἑπομένων **Ἰωάννῃ** (Ἰωάννης **Ath**) πέμψας ὡμολόγησε διαχειμάσας ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ἥξειν. The name is not the subject of πέμψας, but the object of the participle ἑπομένων. Because of the fact that the subject is found many lines above, the scribe adds a -ς to the dative Ἰωάννῃ, in order to form a nominative as subject, because he thinks that it goes with the following πέμψας.

3.15.q) VII. 39.2 (p. 471, 11-13): **αὐτὸς** (αὐτοὶ **Ath**) δὲ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς Σικελίαν διαπορθμευσάμενος τῷ Μεσηνῶν **προσέβαλε** (προσέβαλλον **Ath**) τείχει. Because the previous sentence is plural and refers to the men of the army, **Ath** continues with the plural. But this is wrong, as this sentence refers to Totila mentioned some lines above (καὶ αὐτὸς = and he himself Totila); in addition the plural does not agree with διαπορθμευσόμενος.

3.15.r) VIII. 1.2 (p. 488, 2-3): ... ἐν τῷδέ μοι τῷ λόγῳ **πάντα** (πάντως **Ath**) γεγράψεται, ἱστορίαν δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπάναγκες ποικίλην ξυγκεῖσθαι. The reading of all other manuscripts, including those copied later, is correct with πάντα as the subject of γεγράψεται.[137]

3.15.s) VIII. 7.5 (p. 516, 20-22): πόλει γοῦν Δάρας αὐτίκα ἐγκεχειρηκὼς ἀπεκρούσθη ἐνθένδε, **ὥσπερ** (**L** : ἥπερ **K**, ὅπερ **Ath**) μοι εἴρηται... Ὥσπερ εἴρηται is more frequently used in such cases (eighteen times and the phrase of **Ath** only once). All later manuscripts agree either with **K** or **L**.

3.15.t) VIII. 13.18 (p. 555, 17-19): ...ἐπεὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐλύμοις ἀποζῆν ὥσπερ οἱ Κόλχοι ἐς πλείω χρόνον, οὐκ **εἰωθὸς** (εἰωθείσαν **Ath**) σφίσιν... It is strange that **Ath** transmits the feminine accusative of the

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[136] E.g., III.16.2 (p. 382, 4-5): εἰ μὴ πικρὸν εἰπεῖν; VIII.11.38 (p. 542, 1-2): εἰ μὴ εὐθύωρον ἀποβληθείη.

[137] Similar in 1.7 (p. 488, 24): γέγραπται πάντα.

participle. The correct reading is that of the other manuscripts ("they were not used to it") and those copied later.

3.16. Possible misunderstanding of syntax (incorrect part of the verb)

3.16.a) V. 3.4 (p. 15,15-18): ἐβουλεύετο οὖν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ Τουσκίαν ἐνδοῦναι, ἐφ' ᾧ χρήματά τε πολλὰ καὶ βουλῆς πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀξίωμα κομισάμενος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τὸ λοιπὸν **διατρίβοι** (διατρίβει **V**, διατρίβειν sscr. -οι **Ath**). Most manuscripts transmit the correct reading in that sentence.[138] The scribe of **Ath** possibly wrote the verb in the infinitive form, διατρίβειν first, which is definitely wrong, but then, he or someone else corrected it to διατρίβοι; perhaps the scribe was confused by the infinitive above, ἐνδοῦναι. All later manuscripts transmit either the reading of **V** or that of **L**.

3.16.b) V. 21.16 (p. 107, 3-7): πτεροῖς μέντοι οὐ τοῖς εἰωθόσιν ἐνέχεται, ἀλλὰ ξύλα λεπτὰ ἐς τῶν πτερῶν τὴν χώραν **ἐνείροντες** (ἐνείραντες **Ath**) ὅλον ἀπομιμοῦνται τοῦ βέλους τὸ σχῆμα... The participle has no clear subject; it refers to the manufacturers or anyone who makes the engines. Being a description, it needs the present tense; in addition all other verbs or verbal forms are in the present. So the past participle, which **Ath** uses, is not correct. The interchange between o and α is the only difference between the two forms, so it was easy for the scribe to make an error. In addition what helps him to make the mistake, is that a participle does not have an augment in past forms. A similar case appears in 22.1 (p. 108, 6-9): Γότθοι δὲ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῃ ἀπὸ τῆς προσεδρείας ἡμέρᾳ, Οὐιττίγιδος σφίσιν ἡγουμένου. ἀμφὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ὡς **τειχομαχήσοντες** (τειχομαχήσαντες **Ath**) ἐπὶ τὸν περίβολον ἦεσαν... Both participles are transmitted in the future tense by later manuscripts.

3.16.c) VI. 1.15 (p. 152, 5-7): ... ἄτερος δὲ τῇ πατρίῳ γλώσσῃ ἔναγχος ἔφασκεν ἐν τῇ γενομένῃ τροπῇ ἐμπεπτωκέναι, βρόχον τε αὐτοὺς, ὅπως **ἀναβαίνοι** (ἀναβαίνειν **Ath**, ἀναβαίνῃ **c**), ἠξίου καθεῖναι. The two infinitives ἐμπεπτωκέναι and καθεῖναι, which depend on two verbs, confuse the scribe. The optative is necessary in a purpose clause, therefore the infinitive of **Ath** is wrong. All later

[138] This may not be the interchange of different spellings of the sound /i/, which appears occasionally in early Byzantine papyri (e.g. τοῖς εἰκίας for τῆς οἰκίας PMerton 38.17 (c.350 AD).

manuscripts examined agree with **L** and **K** apart from **c**, which transmits the subjunctive ἀναβαίνῃ.

3.16.d) VI. 6. 16 (p. 176, 10-13): Ζήνων δὲ τότε τῆς ἑῴας κρατῶν καὶ **τιμωρεῖν** (τιμωρῆσαι **Ath**) μὲν τῷ ξυμβεβασιλευκότι βουλόμενος καὶ τοῦ τυράννου τήνδε τὴν χώραν ἐλευθεροῦν, Ὀδοάκρου δὲ καταλῦσαι τὴν δύναμιν οὐχ οἷός τε ὢν... The infinitive should be in present to co-ordinate with the following infinitive (ἐλευθεροῦν), which depends on the same verb. Later manuscripts disagree with **Ath**.

3.16.e) VI. 8.12 (p. 188, 3-4): καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οἱ ὡμολόγει ἅπαντα **πείσεσθαι** (πείσεσθαι sscr. -θ- **Ath**, πείθεσθαι **K**) βουλομένῳ γὰρ ταῦτα βασιλεῖ εἶναι. Usually the superscribed readings in **Ath** are the correct ones; however in this case the future is required. The superscript variant in **Ath** may derive from collation with **K** family. The later manuscripts transmit either the one or the other reading.

3.16.f) VI. 6.34 (p. 179, 10-11): Ἔστω· **γινέσθω** (γενέσθω **Ath**) ταῦτα. οὐ γάρ ποτε ὑμῖν εἰρηναῖα βουλευομένοις ἐμποδὼν στήσομαι. The aorist is more appropriate here. But this word is used as stereotype. Procopius always uses it in the present and never in aorist. The opposite (present in **Ath**, aorist in **K** and **L**) appears in 31.2 (p. 431, 4-6): ...ἐξαισία τις ἐπιθυμία **ἐγένετο** (ἐγίνετο **Ath**) Προεϊέκταν τὴν βασιλέως **ἀδελφιδῆν** (ἀδελφιδοῦν **Ath**), ἣν εἶχεν ἐγγυητήν... The aorist is more suitable than the imperfect of **Ath**. Perhaps it was not an error concerning the tenses, but a simple interchange of ε and ι. As for the second variant, this is the only appearance of the feminine of the noun; all other times the masculine form is used. In the cases above the manuscripts from the fifteenth century onwards disagree with **Ath**.

3.16.g) VI. 16.8 (p. 221, 12-14): ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ δὲ, ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς, **σφαλέντες** (σφαλέντας **Ath**), εἰ μὴ λίαν πικρὸν εἰπεῖν ᾖ, τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχὺν καταλύσομεν. This error is due to lack of attention by the scribe; a possible case of misunderstanding of syntax.

3.16.h) VI. 17.13 (p. 226, 5-7): ᾤετο δὲ αὐτοὺς, ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα πύθωνται πανταχόθεν σφίσι πολεμίων ἐπιέναι στρατὸν, ἀλκῆς ἂν οὐδεμιᾶς μνησθῆναι, ἀλλ' αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐς φυγὴν **τρέψεσθαι** (τρέψασθαι **Ath**). The aorist of **Ath** is wrong, because the action refers to Belisarius' expectation for the future.

3.16.i) VI. 18.7 (p. 229, 7-9): οὐκ ἐφ' ᾧ κινδύνοις ἰδίοις τὴν Βελισαρίου δόξαν **κρατύνηται** (κρατύνεται **K**, κρατείνεται **Ath**), ἀλλ' ἐφ' ᾧ ἔργα ξυνέσεώς τε καὶ ἀνδρείας ἐπιδειξάμενος διαβόητος ἀνθρώποις ἅπασιν, ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς, εἴη. This is an iotacistic error of **Ath** (ει for υ). In addition, both **Ath** and **K** fail to realise that the subjunctive is necessary.

3.16.j) VI. 18.15 (p. 230, 5-7): δέδοικα δὲ μὴ ταῦτα ὑμεῖς τῇ οὐκ ἀληθεῖ δόξῃ σφαλλόμενοι τά ἀνήκεστα ὑμᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα **δράσητε** (δράσετε **Ath**). The correct mood after the verb δέδοικα μὴ is the subjunctive, so the reading of **Ath** is not correct.

3.16.k) VI. 25.13 (p. 263, 11-14): φεύγοντάς τε αὐτοὺς ἰδόντες Ῥωμαῖοι Βελισάριον ἐπιβεβοηθηκότα σφίσιν ᾤοντο ἐλεῖν τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον, ἐνθένδε τε αὐτοὺς ἐξελάσαι μάχῃ **νικήσαντα** (νικήσαντας **Ath**). In this case the scribe did not realise that the participle refers to Βελισάριον mentioned some lines above and not to πολεμίους. Later manuscripts do not confuse the syntax.

3.16.l) VII. 4.19 (p. 316, 1-4): Τοσαῦτα ὁ Τουτίλας παρακελευσάμενος τῶν οἱ ἑπομένων τριακοσίους ἐκέλευεν, ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων εἴκοσι τὸν ποταμὸν **διαβαίνοντας** (sscr. -ες ἢ διαβάντας **Ath**), κατόπισθεν τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπέδου γενέσθαι... **Ath** transmits two other variant above the word accompanied with ἢ; other such cases follow throughout the text in parts copied by different hands. The superscriptions may have been copied from a marginal note/variant of the exemplar. The participle should be accusative, because it goes with the accusative τριακοσίους as subject of the infinitive γενέσθαι. I believe that the aorist of **Ath** is not correct, because crossing the river is a slow process, so the present is more appropriate.

3.16.m) VII. 8.7 (p. 329, 12-14): ...δεδιότες μή τι Τουτίλαν τῶν ὡμολογημένων ὀλιγωρεῖν διὰ τὸ κεκρατηκέναι **ξυμβαίῃ** (ξυμβαίνει **Ath**), καὶ κακόν τι μέγα πρὸς αὐτοῦ λάβωσιν. After δεδιότες μὴ there must be subjunctive or optative. There is a possibility that **Ath** misspelled the subjunctive ξυμβαίνῃ. But the correct reading is the optative ξυμβαίη, with which later manuscripts agree.

3.16.n) VII. 11.34 (p. 345, 16-20): ...τὰς πύλας...ἔπεμψεν, ἃς δὴ ἐκέλευε τοὺς ἀμφί τε Σαβινιανὸν τε καὶ Θουριμοὺθ κατὰ τάχος τοῖς τείχεσιν **ἐναρμόσαντας** (ἐναρμόσαντες **Ath**) ἐντὸς τοῦ

περιβόλου μένειν... The participle refers to τοὺς ἀμφὶ Σαβινιανὸν καὶ Θουριμοὺθ as objects of ἐκέλευε. The wrong reading is not transmitted by any of the later manuscripts.

3.16.o) VII. 16.30 (p. 368, 15-17): ὥστε προπηλακισθέντες ξυνοίσει μᾶλλον διαπεπρᾶχθαι τι ὧν ἕνεκα ἦλθον ἢ λόγων ἐπιεικεστέρων **ἀκούσαντας** (ἀκούσοντας **Ath**) τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀποτυχόντας ἐπανελθεῖν. The past is necessary for the meaning and in addition the infinitive, διαπεπρᾶχθαι, is past as well. The same in 20.4 (p. 384, 24): ...καλῶς τε ἐκ τῶν ἐπάλξεων **ἀναρτήσαντες** (ἀναρτήσοντες **Ath**) ἄχρι ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἐξικνουμένους...

3.16.p) VII. 18.29 (p. 378, 19-21): ...καὶ τοῖς ἐν Καπύῃ φυλάσσουσι τετρακοσίοις οὐσιν ἐς χεῖρας ἤκων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν δίοδον **ἐνεχείρησε** (ἐνεχειρήσας **Ath**). The fact that the participle used is not grammatically correct, shows that the change may be due to the scribe's lack of attention or due to misreading. All later manuscripts examined transmit the finite verb and not the participle.

3.16.q) VII. 24.29 (p. 406, 14-16): διὸ δὴ καὶ Γότθοι εὐημεροῦντα μὲν τοῖς ἐγχειρήμασι Τουτίλαν **ἐτεθήπεσαν** (ἐτεθήπασιν **Ath**) ἴσα θεῷ... The scribe changes the normal ending of the third person plural.

3.16.r) VII. 37.13 (p. 464,21 -465,1): ἀδύνατον γὰρ Ἰουστινιανὸν τὸ λοιπὸν εἶναι πόλεμον πρὸς Γότθους τόνδε διενεγκεῖν, εἴ τῳ ἱκανὰ **τεκμηριῶσαι** (**V** : τεκμηριώσασθαι **L**, τεκμηριώσαιτο **Ath**) τὰ μετὰ χρόνου τοσούτου ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ξυμβάντα. **Ath** does not recognise that an infinitive is necessary. The reading of **L** is wrong, because the verb is active.

3.16.s) VII. 37.19 (p. 465,23 - 466,2): ...οὐ πρότερον διέβησαν τὸν τῇδε πορθμὸν, ἕως φρουρίου τοῦ ἐν Ῥηγίῳ **ἀπεπειράσαντο** (**K** : ἀποπειράσασθαι **L**, ἀποπειράσαιντο **Ath**). The ἕως goes with indicative; **Ath** and **L** are wrong. This case is similar to the one before in 37.13 (p. 464,21-465,1) where **L** has infinitive, **Ath** optative, both incorrectly. None of the manuscripts copied later than the fourteenth century agree with **Ath**.

3.16.t) VII. 37.26 (p. 467, 2-3): ...ἐς τὸ ἔργον **καταστήσασθαι** (καταστήσεσθαι **Ath**) ἀντὶ Γερμανοῦ ἔγνω. Here the past of all other manuscripts is necessary.

3.16.u) VII. 40.25 (p. 480, 11-13): καὶ οἱ μὲν ὅρκοις αὐτὸν σφίσιν ἀμφὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ **καταληφθέντα** (καταληφθέντες **Ath**) Γότθοις ἀπέδοσαν... The participle refers to αὐτὸν and not to οἱ μὲν as **Ath** may have thought.

3.16.v) VIII. 1.11 (p. 489, 17-18): ...τοῖς πράγμασι τὰ πολλὰ τῶν καθεστώτων τὰ πρότερα **νεοχμῶσαι** (**L** : ἀνεωχμοῦν **K**, νεοχμοῦν **Ath**) ἴσχυσεν... The reading of **K** is certainly wrong, because such a verb does not exist. The past is the suitable tense, because the infinitive refers to the past: "...many of the conditions which formerly obtained have been replaced by new conditions"; therefore that reading of **Ath** is incorrect, it is not transmitted by any of the later manuscripts; they all agree either with **L** or with **K**.

3.16.w) VIII. 2.8 (p. 491, 18-20): ...εἴτε Λαζικῆς εὐθὺ πλέοντες εἴτε καὶ ἐνθένδε **ἀπάραντες** (sscr. ἀπαίροντες **Ath**), οὐκέτι ἐξῆς διαπλεῖν δύνανται. **Ath** transmits superscribed the present, which is not suitable. The past is necessary. The superscribed version does not appear in any of the later manuscripts. It may have existed in **Ath**'s exemplar.

3.16.x) VIII. 6.27 (p. 515, 1-4): ...κατὰ ταῦτα ἰέναι ξυμβαίνει ... τοῖς ἄνω διαρρήδην χωρεῖν, ἔμπαλιν τε τοῦ φαινομένου ἐσαεὶ **φέρεσθαι** (φέρεται **Ath**). And the same two lines below: ...ταῦτα δὲ ἀεὶ τῷ ῥεύματι βιαζόμενα τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἱερὸν **φέρεσθαι** (φέρεται **Ath**). The infinitives are necessary in both cases. The scribe changes them to indicative, because he does not realise that all verbs depend on the verb ξυμβαίνει, which needs the infinitive. None of the later manuscripts agree with **Ath**, except of **k**, which in the first case transmits the same reading.

3.16.y) VIII. 9.3 (p. 525, 20-22): ἔλεγόν τε ὡς Δαγισθαῖος ... τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἐς ἕτερον τινα χρόνον **ἀπέθετο** (ἀπέθεντο **Ath**). The scribe changes the number of the verb, perhaps because he does not realise that its subject (Δαγισθαῖος), which is mentioned several lines above, is singular.

3.16.z) VIII. 11.48 (p. 543, 21-22): ...ᾧπερ αὐτόν τε καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα διασώσασθαι **ἔσχε** (ἔσχεν **L**, ἔσχηκε **Ath**). The perfect of **Ath** is not suitable. Later manuscripts agree either with **L** or with **K**.

3.16.a.a) VIII. 11.26 (p. 539, 9-10): οἳ δὴ ἐνταῦθα γενόμενοι ξὺν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐς τήνδε τὴν τειχομαχίαν **κατέστησαν** (**L** :

κατεστήσατο **K**, κατεστήσαντο **Ath**). **K**'s reading is clearly wrong. The correct form is that of **L**. Parallels: I.9.22 (p. 44, 21) and IV.22.18 (p. 524,25-525,1): ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν κατέστησαν. All later manuscripts agree either with **L** or with **K**.

3.17. Vocabulary

This group includes the variants of **Ath**, which change the "original" word or phrase and use a totally different one. The substitution of one word for another (misreading, usage of ordinary words) can be brought about by mental associations: a word that plays little part in the scribes' life may be mistaken for one that plays a greater part; in other cases, the scribe maybe reminded of a similar word or phrase that he has copied earlier, it may be many pages earlier. A distinctive part of this group is the substitution of prepositions in compounds, a fact that causes change in the meaning of the words. Sometimes a word is substituted for another, which was a synonym (gloss) in the form of a marginal note and inserted into the text.

3.17.1. Possible misreadings or visual errors

3.17.1.a) V. 2.21 (p. 13,12-17): Ἀμαλασοῦνθα δὲ οὔτε κατωρρώδησε τὴν τῶν Γότθων ἐπιβουλὴν οὔτε οἷα γυνὴ ἐμαλακίσθη, ἀλλ' ἔτι τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀξίωμα ἐνδεικνυμένη, τρεῖς ἀπολέξασα τοὺς ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις **λογιμωτάτους** (δοκιμωτάτους **Ath**) τε καὶ αὐτῇ αἰτιωτάτους τῆς στάσεως, ἐκέλευεν ἐς τὰς τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐσχατιὰς ἰέναι... The word δόκιμος with the meaning of "trustworthy, approved", does not fit in that context. In addition in V.3.11 (p.16,18) the λογιμωτάτους appears in the same context and meaning ("famous, notable"). This reading in **Ath**, which may have arisen simply from inattentive copying, could also go further back in the tradition and arise from a visual confusion between Λ and Δ. This error does not appear in later manuscripts.

3.17.1.b) V. 11.26 (p. 62,9-12): ...Οὐίττιγις, καὶ τῆς Θευδερίχου ἀρχῆς ὑπομνήσας, ἐνεκελεύετο ἅπασιν ἐς Γότθων το **ἔθνος** (γένος **Ath**) εὐνοικῶς ἔχειν, ὅρκοις αὐτοὺς δεινοτάτοις ὑπὲρ τούτων καταλαβών... The word γένος is a subdivision of ἔθνος, the first is a smaller group of people. In this case, the ἔθνος refers to Goths. In V.12.25 (p. 66, 22) the Βουργουζιώνων γένος[139] with the meaning

[139]Other examples of γένος meaning "nation" are I.8.3 (p. 37, 4-5): Φαρεσμάνης Κόλχος μὲν γένος; I.10.9 (p. 46,22): Ἀμβαζούκης, Οὖννος μὲν γένος; IV.23.6 (p. 526,3): Φοῖνιξ, Ἐμεσηνὸς γένος.

"nation" appears but in V.11.27 (p.62, 22) there is γένος τοῦ Θευδερίχου with the meaning "family". Procopius seems to use the two words as alternatives, when he speaks about a whole nation, a tribe and when he speaks about a family. I suggest that ἔθνος transmitted by most manuscripts is the correct reading of the original. The manuscripts written after the fourteenth century transmit ἔθνος. A similar case appears in VI. 13.14 (p. 208, 1-3): ...ὧν ὁ μὲν Βελισαρίου δορυφόρος ἦν ἐκ Θρᾴκης, Οὐλιμοὺθ ὄνομα, ὁ δὲ Βαλεριανοῦ, Γουδουλγουδοῦ, Μασσαγέτης **γένος** (ἔθος **Ath**). What is correct is the "origin" of the man and not "his habits". Usually when the author introduces a new person, he refers to his γένος.

3.17.1.c) V. 15.1 (p. 79,3-4): Πίτζας ... καὶ Σαμνίου τοῦ ἐπιθαλασσίου **μοῖραν** (μέρους **Ath**) τὴν ἡμίσειαν Βελισαρίῳ ἐνεχείρισεν... The reading of **Ath** leaves ἡμίσειαν without a noun. The scribe of **Ath** comments τοῦ ἐπιθαλασσίου μέρους, cf. V.16.16 (p. 16-17): τοῦ περιβόλου τὸ ἐπιθαλάσσιον μέρος. The correct term is transmitted by later manuscripts.

3.17.1.d) V. 18.32 (p. 94, 11-14): ὁ δὲ, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐδύνατο, ἐπεί οἱ τὰ ἐντὸς τε λιμῷ καὶ τῷ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης κακοπαθείας αὐχμῷ λίαν ἐκάετο, **ὕδωρ οἱ ἔνευεν** (**K** : καὶ ὕδωρ οἱ ἐνθένδεν ἐδέετο **L**, καὶ ὕδωρ οἱ ἐνθένδεν **Ath**) ἐς τὸ στόμα ἐμβάλλεσθαι. Apart from the usual wrong form of the adverb ἐνθένδε,[140] the use of the word is wrong. The verb ἔνευεν which is used by manuscript **K** is the correct reading, because otherwise the infinitive ἐμβάλλεσθαι has no verb to depend on. On the other hand, there is no place for ἐνθένδε in the sentence. The two words, ἔνευεν and ἐνθένδεν, have similar letters, but the second is much more frequently used and familiar to the scribe. The error may have existed in a previous manuiscript, as **L** and **Ath** transmit similar readings. None of the later manuscripts agree with **Ath**.

3.17.1.e) V. 18.42 (p. 96, 3-6): Βελισάριος δὲ γέλωτα πολὺν πρὸς Ῥωμαίων **ὤφλεν** (ὤφειλεν **Ath**), ἐπεὶ μόλις τοὺς πολεμίους διαφυγὼν θαρσεῖν τε ἤδη καὶ περιφρονεῖν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐκέλευε. The imperfect of the verb ὀφείλω is used by **Ath** and the aorist of ὀφλισκάνω by all other manuscripts. Ὀφλισκάνω means "to be condemned, to incur (a fine)"[141] This is exactly the meaning here: "Belisarius brought upon himself much ridicule on the part of the

[140] See above 3.4, pp. 49-50 for the frequent use of ἐνθένδεν.

[141] With this meaning it is also used by classical authors: ὀφλω γέλωτα, Eur.*Hel* 67: αἰσχύνην ὄφλει; Eur.*Andr*. 188: ὄφλω βλάβην; Plato *Symp*. 199b,2: γέλωτα ὄφλω.

Romans". The scribe of **Ath** was not aware of the aorist form ὤφλεν, so he "corrected" it by interpolating an ει, mistaking it for the more familiar ὤφειλεν.The manuscripts which belong to the fifteenth century and later transmit the correct verb.

3.17.1.f) V. 18.42 (p. 96, 3-6): Βελισάριος δὲ γέλωτα πολὺν πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ὤφλεν, ἐπεὶ μόλις τους πολεμίους διαφυγὼν θαρσεῖν τε ἤδη καὶ **περιφρονεῖν** (περιφρουρεῖν **Ath**) τῶν βαρβάρων ἐκέλευε. The correct verb in this context is the περιφρονεῖν of all other manuscripts. As we pointed out above, the meaning is not the main concern of the scribe of **Ath**; but here the syntax is also wrong. Περιφρονεῖν takes genitive, but περιφρουρεῖν needs accusative. Later manuscripts transmit the correct reading.

3.17.1.g) V. 20.15 (p. 104, 1-2): Ὁ μὲν τῆς ξυμβουλῆς καιρὸς οὐκ **ἐφ' ὑμῖν** (ἐν φυγήν **Ath**) κείσεται. The mistake in **Ath** obviously stems from a visual error (misreading), because υμι and υγι can look similar. Later manuscripts have the correct reading.

3.17.1.h) V. 21.6 (p. 105, 11-13): ... ἡτοίμαζε καὶ μηχανὰς τέσσαρας, αἳ κριοὶ καλοῦνται. ἔστι δὲ ἡ μηχανὴ **τοιαύτη** (τοιάδε **Ath**). κίονες ὀρθοὶ... The word wrongly used by **Ath** when is found in this context in a sentence introduces a speech or explains events (e.g. ἀμείβετο τοιάδε etc.).[142] So the scribe is confused here as the two words start with the same letters. Here the word τοιαύτη is suitable: "this engine is of the following kind".

3.17.1.i) V. 21.16 (p. 107, 3-7): πτεροῖς μέντοι οὐ τοῖς εἰωθόσιν **ἐνέχεται** (**K** : ἀνέρχεται **Ath**, ἀνέρχονται **L**), ἀλλὰ ξύλα λεπτὰ ἐς τῶν πτερῶν τὴν χώραν ἐνείροντες ὅλον ἀπομιμοῦνται τοῦ βέλους το σχῆμα... **Ath** and **L** transmit the same verb, but in different number. They are both wrong, because the sentence means "it does not have feathers of a usual sort attached to it". What confuses the scribes is the more frequent use of ἀνέρχομαι. In addition, as the engine which is described has the feathers, the scribes thought that the meaning was "the engine goes up (flies) not with feathers of a usual sort" and the dative πτεροῖς shows the way; but this is not correct, because the engines, "ballistae", do not move; what is shot are the arrows.

The form of **L** is wrong, as the subject is the engine, so the plural is wrong there. Perhaps **Ath** corrects it to singular but he does not realise

[142]The τοιάδε used before speeches may declare that what follows is not exactly the real facts; it may mean "roughly these".

that it is wrong; what concerns him is the syntax and not the meaning. The change must have been made in steps: a scribe changed the correct ἐνέχεται to ἐνέρχεται, by an addition of ρ and later another scribe changed the ἐνέρχεται to ἀνέρχεται, because ἐνέρχεται does not mean anything in this context. The term is transmitted either like **L**'s or like **K**'s by later manuscripts.

3.17.1.j) V. 28.13 (p. 136, 8-10): ἵππου δὲ ἢ τόξου ἢ ἄλλου **ὁτουοῦν** (ὁτονοῦν **Ath**, οὐτουοῦν **L**) ὅπλου ὑμῶν φειδέσθω μηδεὶς. The reading of **Ath** have no sense. This is a possible misreading of ν and υ, which may have been written similarly in his exemplar. Same error in VI.6.17 (p. 176, 23). In some cases the word appears correctly in **Ath**: VI.10.10 (p.194,8) and VI.17.3 (p.224,16). Later manuscripts agree either with **L** or with **K**.

3.16.1.k) V. 28.24 (p. 138, 5-9): ... ἀποτέμνεσθαι ἀξίου τῆς πεζῶν φάλαγγος, μήτε χρῆναι τὸ Ῥωμαίων πεζικὸν ὑβρίζεσθαι **οἵου** (οἷον **Ath**), δι' οὗ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῖς πάλαι Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τόδε μεγέθους κεχωρηκέναι ἀκούομεν. The scribe of **Ath** takes the second person singular of the verb οἶομαι, as the relative pronoun οἷος in accusative. First of all he must have thought that the infinitive χρῆναι needs a verb to depend on; the same happen to the first part of the sentence: there is the verb ἀξίου for the infinitive τέμνεσθαι to depend on. The pronoun is unsuitable there, because a verb is necessary.

3.17.1.l) VI. 5.8 (p. 171, 15-17): ταύτης τῆς πύλης νύκτωρ τὴν **οἰκοδομίαν** (οἰκονομίαν **Ath**) περιελὼν, οὐδενὶ τῶν πάντων προειρημένων... The wrong word in **Ath** may have been more familiar to the scribe. Manuscripts copied later transmit the correct word.

3.17.1.m) VI. 6.30 (p. 178, 22-23): Οὐ γάρ ἐσμεν κύριοι τὰ βασιλέως πράγματα διοικήσασθαι, οὐχ ὅπῃ αὐτῷ **βουλομένῳ** (βουλευομένω **Ath, b, c, k**, βουβουλευομένω **L**) ἐστίν. First of all the reading of **L** does not exist (dittography). The two variants are two different words: "to debate, discuss" and "to want, wish". In this context either verb is suitable: "we are not empowered to administer the emperor's affairs, not in a way which is in accordance with his discussion/ deliberation (**Ath**) or with his wish (rell.)." In this case we should accept what most manuscripts transmit[143] though manuscripts **b**, of the fifteenth century and **c**, **k** of the sixteenth century transmit the reading of **Ath**.

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[143] The phrase βουλομένῳ τινὶ ἐστὶ is wrong here, although attested in Thucydides several times. Cf. similar cases in IV 80.2, 26; IV 85.4, 8; VIII 92.6, 6-7).

3.17.1.n) VI. 11.11 (p. 198, 6-8): ...ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν πέτρα ἀνέχει ἀπότομός τε καὶ ὕψους ἐς **τόσον** (τοσοῦτον **Ath**) διήκουσα, ὥστε τοῖς κάτω οὐσι φαινόμενοι ἄνθρωποι... Both pronouns show quantity, have the same meaning and they are used alternatively. Τοσοῦτος has clearer demonstrative meaning, and in this case is not suitable, because with ὕψος we need quantitative rather than demonstrative meaning. So we accept what most manuscripts transmit. In such cases Procopius uses τόσον in quantitative meanings (I.17.8 (p. 83, 10): ἐς τόσον δὲ σκληρός τις ὁ χοῦς ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν; VII.17.11 (p. 371, 13-14): ἐς τόσον ἀξιωτέρας μεταλαγχάνειν ἱκανοῖς εἶναι) and τοσοῦτον for quality (e.g. III.3.15 (p. 321, 3-4): ἐς τοσοῦτον δὲ μεγαλοψυχίας τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς ἡκέτην ὥστε; VIII.11.48 (p. 543, 19-20): καίπερ ἐς τοσοῦτον κινδύνου ἥκων).

3.17.1.o) VI. 27.13 (p. 271, 23-272,3): τότε δὴ καὶ βέλος τι ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὴν γαστέρα ἦει ... εἴτε τύχῃ τινὶ εἴτε προνοίᾳ ἐνταῦθα **βληθὲν** (λυθὲν **Ath**). Possibly a visual mistake or due to internal dictation. These two forms are not used by Procopius elsewhere.

3.17.1.p) VI. 28.14 (p. 277, 20-21): ἐς προῦπτον δὲ κακὸν ἰέναι, παρὸν κινδύνου **ἐκτὸς** (ἐντὸς **Ath**) σώζεσθαι, πολλὴ ἄνοια. These adverbs are being confused in manuscripts at 14.23 (p. 212, 8-10), as well. It is possibly a visual error, because the only different letters are ν and κ.

3.17.1.y) VI. 7.8 (p. 181, 1-3): τῶν τε φορτίων ἐν αὐτοῖς **ὅσα** (**K** : ὅσα δὴ **L**, ἐς ἀεὶ **Ath**) φέρειν οἷοί τε ἦσαν ἐνθέμενοι, διὰ τοῦ Τιβέριδος ἐς Ῥώμην πνεῦμα τηρήσαντες σφίσιν ἐπίφορον ἐναυτίλλοντο... This sentence may have been not clearly written in a previous manuscript. It may be a visual error (misreading of οσα/εσα and ει/δη. None of the later manuscripts agree with **Ath**.

3.17.1.z) VI. 7.23 (p. 183, 14-16): ταὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο ἀμφὶ τε Ἀλβανῷ καὶ Κεντουκέλλαις δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ ἠτιῶντο, ἠπείλουν τε, ἢν μὴ ταῦτα σφίσιν ἀποδιδῷ, οὐκ **ἐπιτρέψειν** (ἐπιστρέψειν **Ath**). The correct verb ἐπιτρέπειν means "to yield". The reading of **Ath** is wrong, because it means something completely different, "to return, to change" and it is used in the known literature of the fourteenth century.[144] Manuscripts copied in later centuries transmit the verbs correctly.

[144] A characteristic passage of fourteenth century from *The Vita of Adam and Eve (Apocalypse Mosis)* 39.6: πλὴν οὖν λέγω σοι ὅτι τὴν χαρὰν αὐτῶν ἐπιστρέψω εἰς λύπην, τὴν δὲ σοῦ λύπην ἐπιστρέψω εἰς χαράν, καὶ ἐπιστρέψας καθίσω σε εἰς τὴν ἀρχήν σου ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον τοῦ ἀπατήσαντός σε.

Similar errors at VI. 9.14 (p. 191, 5-8): ... ἀπάντησέ τε οὐ ξυντεταγμένους ἐς παράταξιν, ἀλλὰ ξὺν πολλῇ ἀκοσμίᾳ ἰοῦσι, και τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ **τρεψάμενος** (στρεψάμενος **Ath**) συχνοὺς ἔκτεινε and at VI. 23.11 (p. 253, 1): ...ῥᾷστά τε αὐτοὺς ἀρετῇ ὡσάμενοι **ἔτρεψαν** (ἔστρεψαν **Ath**)... I suggest that all the above errors of **Ath** may be due to misreading.

3.17.1.a.a) VI. 7.38 (p. 185, 22-24): καὶ αὐτοῖς Βελισάριος ὑποσχόμενος τὴν δέησιν **ἐπιτελῇ** (ἐπιμελῇ **Ath**) ποιήσειν κατεῖχεν αὐτοῦ τὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ὥραν. The meaning here is "to fulfil", so the word ἐπιτελὴς is necessary.

3.17.1.a.b) VI. 13.9 (p. 207, 5-7): ... ἅπαντας δὲ ἀπαγαγὼν ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων πέντε ὡς ἐς **παράταξιν** (παράτασιν **Ath**) διεκόσμησεν, οὐ βαθεῖάν τινα τὴν φάλαγγα ποιησάμενος ... Παράτασις (παρατείνω = to extend the time) makes no sense in the context and is never used by Procopius.

3.17.1.a.c) VI. 21.13 (p. 242, 19-20): μετὰ δὲ Μαρτῖνος **ἀπολύεσθαι** (ἀπολέσθαι **Ath**) τὴν αἰτίαν ἐθέλων Βελισαρίῳ ἔγραψε τάδε. **Ath** inadvertently omits a υ; the same phrase is found again in III.12.17 (p. 368, 3-5): δι' ὧν ἀπολύεσθαι τὰς αἰτίας φησὶ χείρω εἰκότως εἶναι ποιεῖ τὰ ἐγκλήματα.

3.17.1.a.d) VI. 29.12 (p. 284, 3-6): τῶν γὰρ ἀτοπωτάτων ἂν εἴη σιωπᾶν μὲν ἕως ἔξεστιν ἐξελέσθαι τὰ κρείσσω, σκοπουμένοις δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης **ἀπόβασιν** (ἀπόφασιν **Ath**) τὰς αἰτίας ποιεῖσθαι. Exactly the same case appears at 30.22 (p. 292, 10-11): ...ἀλλὰ τῶν δεδογμένων παρὰ δόξαν πολλάκις ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων **ἀπόβασις** (ἀπόφασις **Ath**) ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἐχώρησε. Internal dictation could be one of the possible causes of this error. The most important argument in favour of ἀπόβασις is that ἀπόφασις is never used by Procopius and it would not make sense here.

3.17.1.a.e) VII. 7.7 (p. 326, 4-5): τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ **τῷ** Ῥωμαίων **στόλῳ** (τὸν - στόλον **L**, τὸν - στρατὸν **Ath**) ταύτῃ πη ἔσχε. The noun of **Ath** is wrong, because the preceding text refers to the action of the fleet and not the army. As for the case, the correct reading is the dative of most manuscripts, because the dative is used frequently by Procopius as a summary after a narrative. For parallels see I,15.25 (p. 78, 18): τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τοῖς Τζάνοις ταύτῃ πη ἔσχεν, II.23.21 (p. 259, 23-24): τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ λοιμῷ ἔν τε τῇ ἄλλῃ Ῥωμαίων γῇ

καὶ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ταύτῃ πη ἔσχεν. None of the later manuscripts agree with the different noun of **Ath**.

3.17.1.a.f) VII. 8.2 (p. 328, 22-23): ... ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς, ἀποπνιγεῖεν, ἐπενόει **τάδε** (τοιάδε **Ath**). According to Procopius' usage the reading of **Ath** is possible. We cannot say which was the original reading, because both words are used by Procopius to introduce a plan or a speech (see 3.5.8 (p. 332, 16): Ὕστερον δὲ Γιζέριχος ἐπενόει τοιάδε, 3.7.7 (p. 341, 9-10): καὶ τὰ πρασσόμενα διακωλύσῃ, μηχανᾶται τοιάδε). The same variation appears at VII.18.9 (p. 375, 4): ἔν τε τῷ Τιβέριδι ἐπενόει **τάδε** (τοιάδε **Ath**) and at VII.23.14 (p. 401, 14): ἐπενόει **τάδε** (τοιάδε **Ath**). In none of the above cases do later manuscripts agree with **Ath**. As the above variations are unique in **Ath**, the readings of the main tradition should be followed.

3.17.1.a.g) VII. 8.10 (p. 330, 1-2): τὸ δὲ Νεαπόλεως τεῖχος καθελεῖν ἐς ἔδαφος **ἐνεχείρησεν** (ἀνεχώρησεν **L**, ἀνεχώρησαν **Ath**), ὅπως αὐτὴν μὴ καταλαβόντες αὖθις... **Ath** is not correct, neither in meaning nor in syntax. First of all the verb ἀναχωρῶ does not need an infinitive. **L** changes the infinitive as well to καθελὼν; so its syntax is correct. But the problem is the meaning, because the wall was not razed to the ground, but he set about (ἐνεχείρησεν) razing it. Later manuscripts agree either with **K** or with **L**.

3.17.1.a.h) VII. 8.14 (p. 330, 15-17): ... ξυλλεγέντες εὐθὺς καὶ Τουτίλᾳ ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθόντες ἐδέοντο τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὴν αἰτίαν **ἀφεῖναι** (ἀναφανῆναι **Ath**) ... The verb used by **Ath** has no relation to the context. The verb ἀναφαίνομαι is never used in Procopius in any form. The manuscripts copied later than the fourteenth century transmit the reading of most manuscripts.

3.17.1.a.i) VII. 9.7 (p. 333, 25-26): τὸ γὰρ τῆς ἁμαρτάδος ξυμπεσὸν αἴτιον τῶν ἐγκλημάτων αὐτοῖς **παραιτεῖται** (παραιρεῖται **Ath**) τὸ πλεῖστον. The reading of **Ath** may be a visual error. Of course, there is a possibility that the scribe failed to understand the meaning. Manuscripts copied later transmit the correct verb.

3.17.1.a.j) VII. 9.13 (p. 334, 17-18): καίτοι **ἐξεναγεῖσθε** (Maltr. : ἐξαναγ^{K}εῖσθε **K**, ξεναγεῖτε **L**, ξεναγεῖστε **Ath**) μὲν ὑμεῖς αὐτοὺς... This is the only appearance of this verb in Procopius. What confuses the scribe is the rare usage of the verb during his period (only nine known appearances in the literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth

centuries) on the one hand, and the middle form of the verb, although its meaning is active, "entertain". All later manuscripts are confused and agree either with **K** or with **L**.

3.17.1.a.k) VII. 12.3 (p. 347, 2-3): ...ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων καὶ ὅπλων καὶ χρημάτων **χωρὶς** (**K** : ξὺν ἀπορία **L**, χωρία **Ath**). When the adverb follows the noun scribes are sometimes confused, because this is not the normal sequence. **Ath**'s reading makes no sense. The phrase ξὺν ἀπορίᾳ is odd; perhaps it is a marginal gloss for χωρὶς, which intruded into the text. None of the later manuscripts agree with **Ath**.

3.17.1.a.l) VII. 12.8 (p. 347, 19-21): εὖ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὦ δέσποτα, ἴσθι, ὡς τῶν ὑπὸ σοὶ **στρατευομένων** (στρατηγῶν μένων **Ath**) οἱ πλείους πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους... Neither the context nor the syntax justifies the reading of **Ath**. There is a possibility that the exemplar of **Ath** had στρατηγῶν and superscribed the ending -ευομένων as correction; then **Ath** keeps the στρατηγῶν and he misunderstands the correction, which he transmits as μένων.

3.17.1.a.m) VII. 16.21 (p. 366, 14-15): ... τοῦ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ὄγκου **παραιρουμένου** (παραιρομένου **Ath**) τοῖς ἠδικηκόσι τὸν ἔλεον. Careless error.

3.17.1.a.n) VII. 21.3 (p. 390, 10-12): λόγων γὰρ τῶν ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν ἀγόντων κόρον οὐκ εἰκὸς ἀνθρώπῳ γενέσθαι, κἂν **τῇ πολυλογίᾳ** (**L** : τι ἀλογίᾳ **K**, τῇ ἀλογία **Ath**) τις ἀποκναίειν δοκῇ. It is important that this is the only appearance of the noun πολυλογία in all of the works of Procopius, that is why the scribes change the word. However, this is the correct word, because it refers to κόρον above. Most of the later manuscripts agree with **L** and none with **Ath**.

3.17.1.a.o) VII. 21.21 (p. 393, 16-18): Ὅσα μὲν ἐν Ῥωμαίων τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι ξυνέβη ἐπεὶ μεμαθηκέναι σε ἅπαντα οἶμαι, **σιωπᾶν ἔγνωκα** (**K** : καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἔγνωκας **L**, τὸ πᾶν ἔγνωκας **Ath**). There is a connection between **Ath** and **L** again; they transmit a totally different reading from **K**. This is one of the most important cases, which show the relation between **L** and **Ath**. Although syntactically the readings of **L** and **Ath** are correct, there is a problem for the meaning, because it repeats the previous sentence. The error may be visual, or it may come from a common exemplar for **L** and **Ath**. Manuscripts copied later than the fourteenth century agree either with **L** or with **K**.

3.17.1.a.p) VII. 21.19 (p. 393, 7-10): ἐπέστελλέ τε αὐτοῖς τὴν εἰρήνην οἱ παντὶ σθένει παρὰ βασιλέως **πορίζεσθαι** (κομίζεσθαι **Ath**), ὅπως δὴ μὴ αὐτὸς ἀναγκάζηται Ῥώμην ἐς ἔδαφος καθελὼν ξύμπασαν... This may be a visual error, because κομίζεσθαι is more frequently used in Procopius (πορίζεσθαι is used only twenty-five times). In the context, κομίζεσθαι ("to bring") could make sense; but πορίζεσθαι is equally suitable and this is the reading also of all later manuscripts examined.

3.17.1.a.q) VII. 31.15 (p. 433, 7-8): ὃ δὴ μάλιστα ἀνθρώπου **ψυχὴν** (τύχην **Ath**) ἀνιᾶν πέφυκεν. The context has nothing to do with fortune, but it describes why Artabanes sent away his wife, justifying the fact with the phrase: "...A situation which is bound inevitably to harass a man's soul". In addition the "fortune" cannot be the object of the infinitive ἀνιᾶν. Perhaps it is a visual copying error. Anyway none of the manuscripts copied later transmit τύχην.

3.17.1.a.r) VII. 33.12 (p. 444, 6-8): τῶν τε **γειναμένων** (Maltr. : γεναμένων **V**, γεννομένων **L**, γεννωμένων **Ath**) ἀφέλκοντες ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἐκομίζοντο... "...dragging them from their parents...". **Ath** and **L** have a link once again; they transmit the same verb γεννᾶν with a different spelling. Maltretus emends against all manuscripts to the past participle of γείνομαι, which is found in other cases, as well: VIII.3.15 (p. 499, 6-7): ἐκ τῶν γειναμένων ἀφέλκοντες εὐνούχους τε ἀπεργαζόμενοι ἀπεδίδοντο, VIII.24.19 (p. 620, 1-2): εἴ τι τοῖς γειναμένοις ἡμαρτῆσθαι ξυμβαίνει. None of the later manuscripts agree with Maltretus or with **Ath**; they all agree either with **V** or with **L** except for **K**, which transmits a different variant, γενομένων.

3.17.1.a.s) VII. 35.14 (p. 455, 11-12): προνοήσας οὖν Οὐάκης ὅπως εἰς τὸν παῖδα τὸν αὐτοῦ ἡ **ἀρχὴ ἄγοιτο** (ἄγη γένοιτο **Ath**). I suggest that the mistake is visual or it comes from internal dictation. The confusion does not exist in later manuscripts.

3.17.1.a.t) VII. 40.9 (p. 477, 24-25): ...οὐδὲ στασιώταις τοῖς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τῆς βουλήσεως ἢ τῆς ὁμιλίας **μεταλαχὼν** (μεταλογὼν **Ath**) πώποτε... The variant of **Ath** does not mean anything. Perhaps it is a visual copying error, which does not exist in any of the later manuscripts.

3.17.1.a.u) VIII. 8.11 (p. 520, 11-13): ...πολλάκις αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐς **χεῖρας** (γεῖρας **Ath**) ἐλθοῦσι καὶ ὑπερβαλλομένοις τῇ μάχῃ. This is certainly a visual error.

3.17.1.a.v) VIII. 8.31 (p. 523, 19): ἐς φάλαγγα τε ὡς **βαθυτάτην** (βαρυτάτην **Ath**) ταξάμενοι... Visual error; a φάλαγξ cannot be characterised as βαρυτάτη.

3.17.1.a.w) VIII. 9.18 (p. 528, 12-14): τῆς τε ἀτραποῦ ταύτης ὑπέρκειται φάραγξ ἐσάγαν **σκληρὰ** (σκληρὴ **Ath**) ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου διήκουσα μέχρι ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. At the time of the scribe, the feminine adjective does not exist in -α. So he is gives it the usual ending of feminine adjectives.

3.17.1.a.x) VIII. 12.34 (p. 552, 11-12): ...εὐτυχίᾳ τε καὶ ἀρετῇ τοιᾷδε τῷ στρατηγῷ **τῷδε** (τὸ δέον **Ath**) ξυνηνέχθη. Perhaps it is a visual error of **Ath**.

3.17.1.a.y) VIII. 13.5 (p. 553, 13-15): ὥστε εἰκότως ἄν τις Περσῶν τὴν ἐς τοὺς **πολέμους** (πολεμίους **Ath**) ταλαιπωρίαν τε καὶ ἐπιτέχνησιν ἀγασθείη... Inadvertent error, which gives a possible sense.

3.17.1.a.z) VIII. 13.19 (p. 555, 24): ...ὥσπερ μοι **ταῦτα** (ἐνταῦθα **Ath**) ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις πάντα ἐρρήθη... The ἐνταῦθα showing place is not suitable; the sentence needs the definite pronoun as subject. Later manuscripts transmit the correct reading.

3.17.2. Prepositions

3.17.2.a) V.17.1 (p. 86,19-21): ... καὶ τὰ ἐν Τούσκοις ἐκλιπεῖν ὀχυρώματα ἐδόκει οἱ ἀξύμφορον εἶναι, ὅπως δὴ μὴ ταῦτα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις Γότθοι **ἐπιτειχίσματα** (τειχίσματα **Ath**) ἔχοιεν. Τειχίσματα of **Ath** would be correct if Procopius meant to refer to a simple wall; however, here he refers to a bulwark. The noun τειχίσματα, which means wall or fort generally, either built against an enemy or for general protection, is used by Thucydides at 4.8,115 as

well as Procopius elsewhere.[145] The ἐπιτειχίσματα has a special meaning; it is a fort or a stronghold on the enemy's frontier.[146]

3.17.2.b) V.17.2 (p.86, 21-25): λογισάμενος οὖν Κωνσταντίνῳ τε καὶ Βέσσᾳ **ἐπέστειλε** (ἀπέστειλε **Ath**) φρουρὰν μὲν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις τῶν ἐκεῖνῃ ἀπολιπεῖν χωρίων, ὅση δὴ φυλάσσειν αὐτὰ ἱκανὴ εἴη, αὐτοὺς δὲ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς Ῥώμην κατὰ τάχος ἰέναι. In this case the correct verb is ἐπέστειλε which most manuscripts transmit, because its meaning in the context is "sent a message to ..." and it goes with accusative plus infinitive. The scribe of **Ath** is confused, because the word that follows is the φρουρὰν, which is often the object of ἀποστέλλω. But here φρουρὰν is the subject of the infinitive that follows (ἀπολιπεῖν). None of the manuscripts copied later agree with him.

3.17.2.c) V. 18.19 (p. 92, 14-16): οὕτω τε διαφυγόντες ἐς τὸν Ῥώμης περίβολον ἦλθον, διώκοντες τε οἱ βάρβαροι ἄχρι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος **ἐνέκειντο** (ἔκειντο **Ath**) ἀμφὶ τὴν πύλην ἣ Σαλαρία ὠνόμασται. The different reading of **Ath** was not the scribe's conjecture or error. The text of 18.19-26 (p. 92,14-93,14) is repeated in **Ath** by mistake, because of *homoioteleuton*. The repeated text is later crossed out. Interestingly, the doubtful reading ἔκειντο is also transmitted in the repetition; this proves that the scribe copied twice the word which his exemplar contained. This is very important, because it shows that the same may have happened in other cases; namely the scribe of **Ath** does not always err or emend, but he copies the wrong reading his prototype. It is rather unlikely that the scribe of **Ath** made the same change twice in the same word.

The reading of most manuscripts must be the correct one. The compound ἔγκειμαι means "to press hard, to push" and is used for troops several times in Thucydides; it has a more emphatic meaning than the simple κεῖμαι, which means simply "lie, stay or be". The compound is more suitable here, because the author wants to show that the barbarians are very near to the Romans' wall and his intention is to show the real danger for the Romans. The verb of **Ath** has a totally different meaning but makes sense in the context, it says that the barbarians just went to the wall, without giving the emphatic meaning that the

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[145] *Wars*, IV.26.17 (p. 538, 13-14): τειχίσματι περιβαλὼν φρούριον; V.22.22 (p. 112,3-4): τὰς κλίμακας ἤδη προσθήσειν τῷ τειχίσματι ἔμελλον; VIII.33.14 (p. 664,11-12): τειχίσματι βραχεῖ ὀλίγην τινὰ τῆς πόλεως μοίραν περιβαλών.

[146] See Ibid, I.16.6 (p. 81,4): ἐπιτειχίσματα Πέρσαις πεποίησθε; VII.10.23 (p. 340,11-12): ἐπιτείχισμα τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἐσπλεῖν βουλομένοις ἐγίνετο.

barbarians were staying near the wall and they were waiting for Romans. But the reading of **Ath** and its exemplar is not the correct reading.

Disagreement between manuscripts for the same verb appears in VII. 3.13 (p. 310, 22-23): καὶ ἐπεὶ ὁ φύλαξ ἥπερ **ξυνέκειτο** (**L** : ἔκειτο **K**, ἐξέκειτο **Ath**) ἀνεπέτασε σφίσι τὰς πύλας... The meaning of the phrase is "true to his agreement" and is used frequently by Procopius (eg II.20.4 (p. 239, 4), VIII.24.10 (p. 618, 11). Certainly the other two variants of the verb are more frequently used, but they are not suitable here, as they change the meaning of the phrase. All later manuscripts agree either with **K** or with **L**.

3.17.2.d) V. 18.28 (p. 93, 20-22): Βελισάριος δὲ ἥκιστα **ἐκπεσὼν** (ἐκπεσὼν sscr. εμ- **Ath**) ἐς τὴν δίωξιν αὐτίκα ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἀνέστρεψεν. In this case **Ath** and all other manuscripts transmit the same reading, but in **Ath** the letter μ is written above the κ, suggesting a change of the verb to ἐμπεσὼν. The two compounds have no great difference in meaning; ἐμπίπτω in that context would mean "attack" and ἐκπίπτω "attack" again, but here the metaphorical meaning "rushed to change policy and attack" is necessary and therefore ἐκπεσὼν is preferable, as "Belisarius did not rush to change his mind and pursue them, but he returned to the wall." The scribe of **Ath** may have added the superscript μ, possibly because it existed in his exemplar due to the palaeographical similarity if the letter was κ or μ. None of the later manuscripts transmits ἐμπεσών.

3.17.2.e) V. 25.9 (p. 124, 15-18): πολεμίων ἐπεισπεσόντων ὑπεχώρουν δρόμῳ, ἄνδρες φύσει τε ποδώκεις καὶ κούφως ἐσκευασμένοι καὶ τῇ φυγῇ **προλαμβάνοντες** (προσλαμβανόντες **Ath**). Προλαμβάνω here means "to take precautions beforehand in order to be safe". Προσλαμβάνω is unsuitable here as it means "take something additional, or arrest someone". None of the later manuscripts transmit the preposition of **Ath**.

3.17.2.f) V. 28.2 (p. 134, 21-25): Βελισάριος δὲ, πάμπολυ ἔτι εἶναι τὸ διαφέρον ἐν ἀμφοτέροις οἰόμενος, ὥκνει τε ἀεὶ τῷ παντὶ **διακινδυνεύειν** (κινδυνεύειν **Ath**) στρατεύματι καὶ τὰς ἐπεκδρομὰς ἐσπούδαζέ τε ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπενόει ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. Procopius uses διακινδυνεύειν more frequently than the simple verb (thirteen times and nine times respectively in *Wars*) Later manuscripts transmit the compound verb.

3.17.2.g) VI. 2.13 (p. 156, 7-8): καὶ ἡ κραυγὴ τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα περιλαβοῦσα τοὺς μαχομένους **ἐξέπλησσε** (Dind. :

ἔπλησσε **Ath**, ἐξέπλησε **K**, ἔπλησε **L**). **Ath** transmits the simple verb, but here the writer wants to express the terror of the soldiers; this is given by the compound ἐκπλήσσω. The fact that **Ath** and **L** had the same exemplar is obvious here. None of the later manuscripts agree with **Ath**.

3.17.2.h) VI. 3.20 (p. 162, 13-16): πάντα γὰρ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ὁ λιμὸς τὰ κακὰ φορητέα δείκνυσιν, ἔνθα τὲ ἂν φαίνηται, μετὰ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων **ἐπέρχεται** (ἀπέρχεται **Ath**) λήθης καί θανάτους ἅπαντας... This is a thoughtless mistake in **Ath**.

3.17.2.i) VI. 6.35 (p. 179, 11-14): τοσαῦτα εἰπόντες διελύθησάν τε ἐκ τῶν λόγων ἑκάτεροι καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν Γότθων ἐς τὸ σφέτερον στρατόπεδον **ἀπεχώρησαν** (ἀνεχώρησαν sscr. -π-. **Ath**). **Ath** changes the preposition of the verb, but there is the correct -π- superscribed. Both verbs mean the same, but we accept what most manuscripts transmit, which is also the reading of all later manuscripts examined. The same error appears in 27.20 (p. 273, 2-4): ἄπρακτοι γοῦν οἱ Ἴσαυροι... ἐκ τῆς δεξαμενῆς ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον **ἀπεχώρησαν** (ἀνεχώρησαν **Ath**).

3.17.2.j) VI. 9.5 (p. 189, 20-24): ... ἔνθα δὴ ἄνοδος τις ἦν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐς αὐτό που τὸ Παλάτιον φέρουσα, οἰκοδομίᾳ τινὶ ἐνταῦθα **ἐνέτυχον** (ἔτυχον **Ath**) οὔτε πρόσω ἰέναι ... The verb ἐντυγχάνω which takes the dative has the meaning of "come upon". It is clear that in the time of the scribe the dative is not used frequently, even when it is necessary for the syntax of verbs, and maybe this is the reason for **Ath** having avoided it.

3.17.2.k) VI. 13.3 (p. 206, 5-6): ... οὐχ ὑποστάντες τὸν κίνδυνον πρέσβεις τε **παρὰ** (πρὸ **Ath**) Βελισάριον ἔπεμψαν... The preposition πρὸ is wrong here, firstly concerning the meaning (πέμπω τινὰ παρὰ τινὰ = send someone to someone) and secondly concerning the syntax the preposition πρὸ takes a genitive.

3.17.2.l) VI. 14.3 (p. 209, 5-7): οἱ δὲ ξύλα πολλὰ ἐς μέγα τι ὕψος ξυννήσαντες καθίσταντές τε τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῇ τῶν ξύλων **ὑπερβολῇ** (περιβολῇ **Ath**) ... The two variants have totally different meaning, although they have the same second element: περιβολὴ means "cloth" or "the fenced area" and ὑπερβολὴ means "the top point". Here the first makes no sense; the second is correct as there are some words before indicating height (ἐς μέγα τι ὕψος, ξυννήσαντες). This different reading of **Ath** may be a visual copying error, because the two

words look similar having three letters in common (but in different order), but they have no relation in meaning. It is possible that the wrong word existed in his exemplar and it arose from dictation.

3.17.2.m) VI. 16.12 (p. 222, 3-5): ἦν τοίνυν ἐν τῷ παρόντι **εὐημερήσωσι** (διημερήσωσι **Ath**), τό τε φρόνημα οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀπολείψονται... The verb meaning "doing something for the whole day" is διημερεύω and in this case would be διημερεύσωσι, which in this context is wrong. The word that **Ath** uses occurs only once in the first book of the *Wars*. The manuscripts copied later transmit ἐημερήσωσι.

3.17.2.n) VI. 18.27 (p. 232, 4-6): ...γράμματα βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἔδειξεν, ἃ πρὸς τοὺς στρατοπέδου ἄρχοντας **ἔγραψεν** (διέγραψεν **Ath**). ἐδήλου γὰρ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε. The reading of **Ath** is wrong; διαγράφω means "to draw or describe". In addition, the letter is introduced by the phrase ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε and it finishes τὰ μὲν οὖν βασιλέως γράμματα ὧδε πη εἶχε; it never refers to διαγράμματα. Manuscripts of more recent centuries transmit the simple verb.

3.17.2.o) VI. 23.36 (p. 256, 24 -257, 1): ἐν οἷς ἕνα χρυσοφοροῦντα τῶν τις Μαυρουσίων ἰδὼν λαβομένός τε τῶν ἐν κεφαλῇ τριχῶν, ὅπως ἀποδύοι, <τὸν> νεκρὸν **ἐφεῖλκε** (εἵλκε, ἐφείλκε in marg. **Ath**). It seems that there is no difference between the simple and the compound verb; two lines below almost the same phrase follows with the simple verb: ἀλλ' οὐδέν τι ἧσσον ὁ Μαυρούσιος τῶν τριχῶν ἐχόμενος τὸν νεκρὸν εἵλκεν. Perhaps the scribe was influenced by the following sentence. These verbs are used with the same frequency in Procopius. Therefore, we should accept the reading of most manuscripts and of the manuscripts copied in later centuries. The addition of **Ath** in margin, in the same hand with the main text, agrees with the reading of all other manuscripts.

3.17.2.p) VI. 28.24 (p. 280, 1): ... Ἰλδιγέρα **πέμψας** (**K**: ἐπιπέμψας **L**, ἀποπέμψας **Ath**) τὸν Πάδον ἐφύλασσεν ἑκατέρωθεν... The simple verb is correct, because this is used in similar contexts (eg. I.10.16 (p. 22-23): πέμψας παρὰ Ῥωμαίους ᾐτιᾶτο πόλιν αὐτοὺς οἰκοδομήσασθαι). The meaning of the word **Ath** transmits is not the same with the simple πέμπειν; it means "send back" and it appears

twice in Procopius[147] accompanied by the word ἀπράκτους. None of the later manuscripts agree with the preposition of **Ath**.

3.17.2.q) VI. 28.32 (p. 281, 11-13): οἵπερ ἐπειδὴ τὰ Σισίγιδι πεπραγμένα ἐπύθοντο, ἀμφὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις δεδιότες, ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον ἠξίουν **ἰέναι** (συνιέναι **Ath**). The verb συνιέναι is not wrong, as regards the meaning: "...they became fearful for their families and demanded that they should first go to (ἰέναι) or be with (συνιέναι) them". Against συνιέναι is the adverb ἐνταῦθα, which goes with a motion verb. So ἰέναι is correct.

3.17.2.r) VI. 30.4 (p. 289, 15-17): ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ πολλὴν τῆς **ἀφόδου** (ἐφόδου **Ath**) τὴν παρασκευὴν ἐπύθοντο εἶναι, ξυμφρονήσαντες, εἴ τι αὐτῶν καθαρὸν ἐνταῦθα ἔτι ἐλέλειπτο... Here ἔφοδος "attack" does not make sense. Here the meaning of departure is suitable. It is worthwhile noting that ἔφοδος is used about sixty times in *Wars*, while ἄφοδος only nine, so **Ath** uses the more familiar word.

3.17.2.s) VII. 11.27 (p. 344, 16-17): ...αὐτοὶ μὲν καὶ οἱ χίλιοι παρεσκευάζοντο εἰς τὴν ἄφοδον, ὡς νύκτωρ τῆς **ἀποπορείας** (ἄπο πορίας **K**, πορείας **Ath**) ἀρξόμενοι... The meaning that is necessary here is not the simple march as **Ath** transmits (although it is much more frequently used), but the meaning "departure", which is used only nine times in Procopius. **K** transmits the c.irrect reading (with a spelling mistakes, but with the wrong word division reading. Manuscripts, which was copied from the fifteenth century onwards, transmit the reading either of **L** or of **K**.

3.17.2.t) VII. 16.16 (p. 365, 10-14): ... ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑμᾶς ἐνθένδε εἰσκομιζομένους ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος τὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων **φορὰν** (**K** : εἰσφορὰν **L**, διαφορὰν **Ath**) διαρκῶς ἔχειν. The reading of **Ath**, meaning "disagreement", is wrong. The reading of **L**, meaning "donation", may be suitable in this context. All later manuscripts examined agree either with **L** or with **K**, except for **k** which transmits εἰς φθορὰν which may have come from dictation.

3.17.2.u) VII. 18.1 (p. 373, 20-21): ...ἀλλὰ πλέουσι μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὰ **ἀμφὶ** (ἐπὶ **Ath**) Ῥώμην χωρία μᾶλλον ξυνοίσειν. The meaning is "sailing to the areas around Rome" and not "to the areas in Rome"; so the correct preposition is ἀμφὶ, which is less frequent than ἐπὶ, which may be why it is changed by **Ath**.

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[147] VII.16.28 (p. 368, 10) and VII.34.40 (p. 451, 21-22).

3.17.2.v) VII. 18.5 (p. 374, 11-12): πνεύματος δὲ σκληροῦ σφίσιν ἐπιπεσόντος Δρυοῦντι **προσέσχον** (ἐπέσχον **Ath**). The correct meaning in the context is given by the verb προσεχω, which means "to put in at, to arrive in the port of a place with a ship"; this verb is used elsewhere in Procopius and, unlike ἐπέχω, it always goes with dative: IV.14.18 (p. 485, 6): Πελοποννήσῳ προσέσχον; VI.12.29 (p. 203, 23): Γενούᾳ προσέσχον.

3.17.2.w) VII. 18.16 (p. 376, 8-9): οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι **ἄνοπλοί** (ἄοπλοι **Ath**) τε καὶ ἀπαράσκευοι παντάπασιν ὄντες... The variants have the same meaning, "unarmed". The word of most manuscripts is used six times by Procopius. The ἄοπλοι of **Ath** only once (VIII. 28.6 (p. 640, 26 - 641,1: ἀνδρὶ μὲν ἀόπλῳ). So both variants are correct, but ἄνοπλοι is more frequent in Procopius.[148] According to *LSJ-Greek* ἄοπλος is used in later centuries and is not very formal, *s.v.* ἄοπλος.

3.17.2.x) VII. 19.6 (p. 379, 23): ...ἦν τῶν πολεμίων τινες **ἐπὶ** (ἐς **Ath**) τὸν Πόρτον ἴωσι... Usually motion verbs take the preposition ἐς, but sometimes they take ἐπὶ when used in a threatening sense.

3.17.2.y) VII. 28.17 (p. 422, 17-18): ὅσοι μέντοι **φυγεῖν** (διαφυγεῖν **Ath**) ἴσχυσαν, ὥς πη ἑκάστῳ δυνατὰ γέγονε, διεσώθησαν. Both the single and the compound verb are used by Procopius in similar cases with the verb ἰσχύειν with the same frequency (10 times each). See I.15.6 (p. 75, 1-2): ὁ δὲ δὴ ἄλλος φυγεῖν τε ἴσχυσε; IV.17.24 (p. 504, 9-10): Ὁ μὲν οὖν Στότζας ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ διαφυγεῖν ἴσχυσε. **V**.29.43 (p. 145, 17-18): ποδώκης δὲ ὢν φύσει διαφυγεῖν ἴσχυσε... So the reading of **Ath** is acceptable. However, none of the later manuscripts agree with **Ath**; they all transmit the simple infinitive.

3.17.2.z) VII. 30.12 (p. 428, 13-14): οὕσπερ ἐπεὶ οἱ βάρβαροι εἶδον, **ἐπὶ** (καὶ **Ath**) τοὺς ἵππους ἀναθορόντες ἀμφὶ τὴν ἠϊόνα ἐγένοντο... It is syntactically incorrect to connect the temporal clause ἐπεὶ ... εἶδον and the main clause ἐγένοντο with καὶ. In addition the preposition ἐπὶ is necessary for the noun ἵππους, see II.8.17 (p. 186, 27): εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀναθορόντες. There is a possibility that the error arose from an abbreviation.

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[148] However, ἄοπλος is used by Thucydides, Plato and Xenophon with the same meaning; *LSJ, s.v.* ἄοπλος.

3.17.2.a.a) VII. 32.40 (p. 439, 23-24): ...ταῦτα Μάρκελλος **πρὸς** (παρὰ **Ath**) Λεοντίου μαθὼν οὐδ' ὡς ἐς βασιλέα τὸν λόγον ἀνενεγκεῖν ἔγνω... In this case the preposition used by **Ath** is wrong. The point is that πρὸς plus genitive is classical where it refers to persons, while παρὰ plus genitive is standard koine. I believe that Procopius' original usage was the classical πρὸς. There is one parallel in V.17.8 (p. 87, 19-20): ἀλλὰ καὶ Ναρνίαν ἔχεσθαι πρὸς τῶν [Ῥώμης] πολεμίων μαθὼν οὐδὲν ἐνταῦθα κινεῖν ἤθελε. The same preposition is used in 33.14 (p. 444, 16-18): ...τὰς συντάξεις ἁπάσας **πρὸς** (παρὰ **Ath**) βασιλέως κεκομισμένοι πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἀπαλλάσσονται, where there is a motion verb κεκομισμένοι, which needs the prepositional phrase with πρὸς. In both cases later manuscripts do not agree with **Ath**.

3.17.2.a.b) VII. 35.22 (p. 456, 19-21): οὐ μέντοι Γότθοις ξυνέμιξεν, ἀλλ' Ἴστρον ποταμὸν **διαβὰς** (ἀναβὰς **Ath**) αὖθις ἐς Σκλαβηνοὺς ἀπεχώρησεν. The preposition ἀνὰ is wrong for the meaning "cross the river".

3.17.2.a.c) VIII. 2.9 (p. 491, 21-22): ...ἀλλὰ πορρωτάτω μὲν **ἀναγόμενοι** (ἀγόμενοι **Ath**) τοῦ ἐκείνῃ πελάγους... The preposition omitted by **Ath** is necessary here, because the compound (= "to set out to sea") is required by the context. All of the later manuscripts examined transmit the compound.

3.17.2.a.d) VIII. 4.7 (p. 501, 20-21): ...καὶ ποταμὸν Τάναϊν, ὃς δὴ ἐς τὴν Λίμνην **ἐσβάλλει** (ἐκβάλλει **Ath**). The same in 5.30 (p. 508, 17): ...εἰσβάλλει ἐς τον Εὔξεινον Πόντον... The meaning of "the river empties into..." should be given by the verb εἰσβάλλειν. The verb ἐκβάλλειν can be used of a river, but with the active meaning that "the river branches off...". All later manuscripts examined transmit the preposition ἐς.

3.17.3. Particles

3.17.3.a) V. 29.32 (p. 143, 32-144, 2): νῦν **δὲ** (μὲν **Ath**) καταλαβόντες τὸ τῶν πολεμίων χαράκωμα ἐς ἁρπαγὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἐτράποντο, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐνθένδε ἀργυρώματα, πολλὰ δὲ ἄλλα χρήματα ἔφερον. The interchange of particles μὲν and δὲ is not frequent in **Ath**. The correct particle here is δὲ. The same alteration, which may be sustainable due to the following μὲν, in 14.30 (p. 213, 5-6): νικήσαντες **δὲ** (μὲν **Ath**) τῇ μάχῃ Ῥωμαῖοι πλείστους μὲν ἔκτειναν...

3.17.3.b) VI. 6.19 (p. 177, 3-6): καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἱερὰ τιμῆς παρ' ἡμῶν τῆς ἀνωτάτω τετύχηκεν. **οὐ** (καὶ **Ath**) γὰρ οὐδεὶς εἴς τι τούτων καταφυγὼν πώποτε πρὸς οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων βεβίασται... The fact that there are four negative words in the sentence may have confused the scribes. The sentence could start with the phrase καὶ γὰρ, but the information given should be given with a special force; therefore the negatives οὐ and οὐδεὶς are necessary.

3.17.3.c) VI.16.9 (p. 221, 14-15): εἰ μὲν **οὖν** (γὰρ **Ath**, om **L**) Ἰωάννης ἐς τὰς σὰς ἐντολὰς ὕβρισεν, ἄριστε Βελισάριε, πολλήν γε τὴν δίκην ἔχεις παρ' ἐκείνου λαβών... Usually small words like οὖν, γὰρ etc. are abbreviated. In this case οὖν is suitable, while γὰρ makes no sense. The same word is changed again in VII. 13.7 (p. 350, 18-19): ὅσαι **οὖν** (μὲν **Ath**) νῆες ἐκ Σικελίας ἀναγόμεναι ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων λιμένα... and 36.24 (p. 462, 4) οὖν is replaced by δὲ: πέμψας **οὖν** (δὲ **Ath**) παρ' αὐτοὺς δυοῖν προὐτείνετο αὐτοῖς αἱρεσιν...

3.17.3.d) VII. 19.8 (p. 380, 3-4): ὀχύρωμα γὰρ ἄλλο ταύτης **δὴ** (διὰ **Ath**) τῆς χώρας οὐδαμῆ εἶχον... It is strange that **Ath** towards the end of the seventh book makes so many errors at easy points of the text. Perhaps the words διὰ and δὴ have been abbreviated in the exemplar and **Ath** copied the abbreviated symbol wrongly.

3.17.3.e) All the following instances where **Ath** substitutes a particle for the one transmitted by the majority of manuscripts may be due to carelessness: VII. 13.21 (p. 352, 19-20): καὶ Ναρσῆν **δὲ** (γὲ **Ath**) τὸν εὐνοῦχον παρὰ τῶν Ἐρούλων τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἔπεμψεν...; VII. 20.4 (p. 384, 23-24): ...κάλως **τε** (γὰρ **Ath**) ἐκ τῶν ἐπάλξεων ἀναρτήσαντες ἄχρι ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος; VII. 20.15 (p. 387, 1): ...καταλαβαίνουσι **μὲν** (καὶ **Ath**) ἐς πύλας τὰς Ἀσιναρίας...; VII. 32.15 (p. 436, 6): ἀφικόμενός τε (τοίνυν **Ath**) παρ' αὐτὸν Ἀρσάκης ἔφασκεν...; VII. 34.20 (p. 448, 11): ...ἴσως που καὶ ἀναιδείας περιουσίᾳ **ἐς** (καὶ **Ath**) ξυμμαχίαν παρακαλέσουσιν...; VII. 37.11 (p. 464, 17-18): ...αὐτὸν **τε** (μὲν **Ath**) προὐκαλεῖτο καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ αὐτὸν στρατιώτας...; VII. 39.1 (p. 471, 3-4): Ὕστερον **δὲ** (μέν **Ath**, μέντοι **K**) Γότθοι **τῷ** (τῷ μὲν **Ath**) Ῥηγίνων προσέβαλον ὀχυρώματι...; VII. 39.4 (p. 471, 16): ἀυθις **δὲ** (τὲ **Ath**) ἐν τῇ πόλει γενόμενος...

3.17.4. Ordinary / familiar words

3.17.4.a) V. 11.16 (p. 60, 22-25): καίτοι καὶ ὑμεῖς δή που ἐπίστασθαι ὡς τό τε Γότθων πλῆθος καὶ ξύμπασαν σχεδόν τι τὴν τῶν ὅπλων **σκευήν** (ἰσχὺν **Ath**, σκευὴν **rell.**, παρασκευὴν **b, r,** Hoesch.) ἔν τε Γαλλίαις καὶ Βενετίαις καὶ χώραις ταῖς ἑκαστάτω ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. Haury accepts the reading of most manuscripts rejecting the emendations of previous editors. An argument in favour of σκευήν, is that Thucydides in two cases uses the word σκευήν in order to describe ὅπλα; In 1.8 he speaks about the σκευήν τῶν ὅπλων and in 3.94 about σκευὴν ψιλήν, and in both cases he refers to the equipment of arms. In addition, Procopius uses eight times the word σκευὴ in the *Wars* and always with reference to the arms.[149] The reading παρασκευὴ is neither suitable, because it means "preparation"; this word is much more frequently used by Procopius.[150] So, I believe that in Procopius' case the word ἰσχύς would not be suitable; he may have found it in a marginal note, which was describing the purpose of the preparation. The later manuscripts examined transmit the word σκευὴν, except for **b** and **r** which transmit παρασκευήν, supporting the emendation of Hoeschel.

3.17.4.b) VI. 9.2 (p. 189, 11-12): οἱ δὲ **λύχνα** (λύχνους **Ath**) τε καὶ δᾷδας ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες ἀπεπειρῶντο τῆς ἐς την πόλιν ἐνθένδε εἰσόδου. The noun has two types in plural: the normal οἱ λύχνοι and the neuter τὰ λύχνα. Classical authors use both types, but the frequent one is the masculine plural. Procopius' contemporaries use both, but Procopius always uses the neuter form, so we should accept this. Ath goes for the *lectio facilior*.

3.17.4.c) VI. 12. 6 (p. 200, 22-23): ...αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς Ἰσαύροις δικέλλας τε καὶ ἄλλα **ἅττα** (τὰ **Ath**) τοιαῦτα ὄργανα φέρουσιν... **Ath** usually transmits this word as τὰ, which is not correct, because ἅττα has the meaning of τινὰ (such things). It seems that the scribe fails to understand the meaning. The same error appears in VI. 14.9 (p. 209, 25) and a similar one in VII. 14.24 (p. 357, 25-26): σέβουσι μέντοι καὶ ποταμοὺς τε καὶ νύμφας καὶ **ἄλλα ἅττα** (**K** : ἀλλάτα **L**, ἄλλα τα **Ath**) δαιμόνια... The scribes of **Ath** never recognise that this word means "such" and they transmit it as a simple article. Neither

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[149] E.g. IV.17.21 (p.503, 21-22): μιᾷ τε γὰρ φωνῇ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ τῶν ὅπλων σκευῇ οἱ πάντες ἐχρῶντο...; VIII.32.4 (p. 655, 12-13): ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ τάξῃ καὶ τῇ τῶν ὅπλων σκευῇ ἀκρατισαμένους ἐκέλευσε.

[150] E.g. VII.30.3 (p. 426, 20-21): μείζονι παρασκευῇ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξαρτύεσθαι; VII. 37.8 (p. 464, 9): αὖθις τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐποιεῖτο.

does **L**, who always transmits it as ἀλλάτα. A link between **L** and **Ath** is again illustrated. **K** always transmits it correctly.

3.17.4.d) VI. 14.36 (p. 213, 23-25): καὶ μίξεις οὐχ ὁσίας τελοῦσιν, ἄλλας τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ **ὄνων** (ζώων **Ath, c, k, n, b, δ**), καί εἰσι πονηρότατοι ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων... Either variant is possible. The term **Ath** uses is more frequently used. Manuscripts **k, n, b, c** and **δ** share the reading with **Ath**.

3.17.4.e) VII. 17.11 (p. 371, 16-17): ...τῆς ἀνάγκης αὐτοῖς ἡδίστην τε καὶ **τρυφερωτάτην** (τρυφερωτέραν, τρυφερωτάτην in margin **Ath**) ποιούσης τὴν βρῶσιν. The superlative form of the adjective is necessary to co-ordinate with the previous superlative ἡδίστην. It is worthwhile pointing out that this would be the only appearance of the comparative of this adjective in Procopius. **Ath** transmits the correct form in the margin. The comparative is used by **Ath** while all other manuscripts transmit the correct superlative also in 34.8 (p. 446, 5-7): οὕτω γὰρ ἂν τὰ ξυνοίσοντα ὡς **ἀσφαλέστατα** (ἀσφαλέστερα **Ath**) ἐξεργάσαισθε τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ...[151]

3.17.4.f) VII. 25.9 (p. 409, 2-4): ...ἐλογισάμην τῶν ἔργων τοῖς ἀμείνοσι δόξασιν εἶναι μᾶλλον ἔπεσθαι ἢ **ἐκ τῶν λυμηναμένων** (Christ : ἐκ τῶν δυναμένων **K**, τῶν ἐκ δυναμένων **Ath**, τῶν δεδηνημένων **L**, ἐκ τῶν λυμαινομένων Scal.) τοῖς πράγμασι διδόναι βλάβος. The meaning "by the things, which had harmed us" is necessary, and δύναμαι makes no sense. The fact that all manuscripts, except for **L**, transmit the same verb means that the error may have come from an old manuscript, as difficult texts like this were not understood in antiquity. Scaliger's suggestion is unsuitable, because the past tense of the participle is necessary. Manuscripts copied later than the fourteenth century do not agree either with the emendation of Christ or Scaliger or with the reading of **Ath**. They all transmit the readings of either **K** or **L**.

3.17.4.g) VII. 27.4 (p. 417, 10-12): Βῆρος οὖν πρῶτος Δρυοῦντι προσχὼν καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐνταῦθα **ἀφεῖς** (αὐτοῦ **Ath**) μένειν μὲν αὐτοῦ οὐδαμῇ ἤθελεν... The participle is absolutely necessary here to co-ordinate with the previous one. The scribe is confused by the following αὐτοῦ and by the fact that ἀφεῖς and αὐτοῦ start with the

[151] This variant of **Ath** may not have anything to do with the use of comparative in place of superlative, which appears sometimes in Agathias' *History*; I suggest that it is an inadvertent error by **Ath**.

same sound [af]. He uses the more familiar word. Manuscripts copied later transmit the correct reading.

3.17.4.h) VII. 32.4 (p. 434, 6-7): δυσφορούμενος δὲ ὅμως τοῖς ξυμπεπτωκόσιν Ἀρσάκης **δολώσεις** (**K** : δόλους **L**, δηλώσεις **Ath**) ἐπὶ τε Ἰουστινιανῷ καὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἐπινοεῖν ἤρξατο. The correct reading of **K** is not used as frequently as δήλωσις of **Ath**. It was easy for the scribe to confuse and change one letter. As for the reading of **L**, the word δόλος gives the right meaning, but is never used in the plural by Procopius. Later manuscripts agree either with **L** or with **K**.

3.17.4.i) VII. 32.8 (p. 434,26 - 435,2): ἐγὼ δέ σε οἰκτείρω τῆς ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν **ταῖν** (**L** : om. **K**, τε **Ath**) γυναικοῖν, ὦ βέλτιστε, τύχης, ἧς τε οὐ δέον ἐστέρησαι καὶ ᾗ ξυνοικεῖν ἠναγκάσθης. The dual is not in use in Koine; so the unfamiliar word for the scribe is changed to a more familiar. Here the article is necessary, because it emphasises that "he had suffered in the case of both the women". The particle makes no sense.

3.17.4.j) VII. 32.9 (p. 435, 6-8): ...ὁμοῦ τοῖς τῶν ἱερέων **ἐσχατογέρουσιν** (Hoesch. in marg. : ἔσχατον γέρουσιν **K**, γέρουσιν ἔσχατον **Ath**, γέρουσιν ἄσχετον **L**) ἀνακυκλεῖν τὰ Χριστιανῶν λόγια σπουδὴν ἔχων. The verb is ἐσχατογερεῖν is very rare, so it is not understood by the scribes; it appears in three other cases in Procopius (VII.39.7 (p. 472, 4), VIII.11.48 (p. 543, 19), *Sec Hist* 9.50 (p. 64, 24). The error must begin from the archetype, as all manuscripts transmit the wrong reading. **Ath** and **L** have a link; **L** changes the second word for a more familiar that has no relation to the context.

3.17.4.k) VII. 34.7 (p. 446, 1-3): ...οἳ λίαν αὐτοὺς εὐπετεῖς εἰς τὸ ἐξαπατᾶσθαι οἰόμενοι τῆς τῶν ἠδικημένων ἀπολαύσαντες **εὐηθείας** (βοηθείας **Ath**) παρ' αὐτοὺς ἥκοιεν. Perhaps this is a visual copying error. The meaning of "help" has nothing to do with the context, but Ath prefers this, because it is more familiar. The word εὐήθεια is used only six times in Procopius and in known literature of the thirteenth-fourteenth century twelve times. Later manuscripts agree with **L** and **K**.

3.17.4.l) VII. 35.13 (p. 455, 9-10): ...ἦν τίς οἱ ἀνεψιὸς Ῥισιοῦλφος ὄνομα, ὃν δὴ ὁ νόμος, **ἐπειδὰν** (**L** : ἐπιβῆναι ἂν **V**, ἐπιβὰς ἂν **Ath**) Οὐάκης τελευτήσειεν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐκάλει. The variants of **V** and **Ath** make no sense in the context. They transmit

similar wrong readings. Anyway manuscripts copied later agree either with **V** or with **L** and none with the reading of **Ath**.

3.17.5. Interpolation / Glosses[152]

3.17.5.a) V. 1.28 (p. 8,17-21): καὶ ἀδίκημα σχεδόν τι οὐδὲν οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐς τοὺς ἀρχομένους **εἰργάζετο** (ἔπραττε **Ath**) οὔτε τῳ ἄλλῳ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐγκεχειρηκότι ἐπέτρεπε, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι τῶν χωρίων τὴν μοῖραν ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς Γότθοι ἐνείμαντο... In ancient Greek literature, ἐργάζομαι is used with double accusative with the meaning "I do something bad to someone" by classical authors;[153] this is the meaning of Procopius' sentence.[154] Πράττω is used with exactly the same meaning, but more generally as πράττω τινὰ τί.[155]

It is almost certain in this case that ἔπραττε is the wrong reading. This verb may have been a marginal gloss to εἰργάζετο, which intruded in the text at an earlier stage. Only **c** of the later manuscripts transmits a different version, but of the same verb; it has the past tense εἰργάσατο.

3.17.5.b) VI. 7.3 (p. 180, 5-9): ...τά τε **φορτία** (φρούρεια **Ath**) πέμπειν ἐκέλευε καὶ ξὺν προθυμίᾳ ἐς Ῥώμην ἰέναι. Both here and in 7.8 (p. 181, 1): φορτίων rell.] φρουρίων **Ath**), the scribe substitutes the wrong noun, a strange error. The word φρούριον is attested elsewhere in Procopius, but there is not a similar variant. Perhaps there was a marginal note indicating the position where φορτία were moved, and at some point it intruded into the text. None of the later manuscripts agree with **Ath**.

3.17.5.c) VI. 7.37 (p. 185, 17-19): αὕτη δὲ ἡ πόλις ᾤκισται μὲν ἐν Λιγούροις, **μέση** (μέσον sscr. -η **Ath**) που μάλιστα Ῥαβέννης τε πόλεως καὶ Ἄλπεων τῶν ἐν Γάλλων ὁρίοις κειμένη. The reading transmitted by **Ath** is the adverb μέσον, which shows position (place). All other manuscripts, including the ones copied later, have the adjective which refers to πόλις and goes with the last word of the sentence κειμένη in order to show the position. So both readings are correct, but

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[152] In this section the original words or phrases are totally omitted and replaced by marginal or interliner notes which possibly have intruded in the text, cf. fn. 126 above.

[153] Soph. *Phil.* 786: παπαῖ μάλ', ὦ πούς, οἷά μ' ἐργάσῃ κακά; Thuc. I 137,4: κακὰ μὲν πλεῖστα Ἑλλήνων εἴργασμαι τὸν ὑμέτερον οἶκον.

[154] More rarely it is used in the meaning "I do something good to someone", Her.VIII 79, 3: ἀγαθὰ τὴν πατρίδα ἐργάσεται.

[155] Arist. *Eccl.* 108: ἀγαθόν τι πρᾶξαι τὴν πόλιν, Eur. *Hel.* 1393-4: ταὐτὰ ... γὰρ πράξεις τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν σὸν.

we should accept μέση as it is transmitted by most manuscripts. Perhaps the variant μέσον of **Ath** was a marginal gloss.

3.17.5.d) VI. 25.11 (p. 262, 26-263-2): κατιδόντες δὲ Γότθοι τὰ ποιούμενα ἔς τε **ἄμαχόν** (ἀμήχανον **Ath**) τι δέος κατέστησαν καὶ φυγῇ ἐχόμενοι ἐντὸς περιβόλου ἐγένοντο. The adjective ἄμαχον going with δέος is found several times in Procopius (VI.1.8 (p. 420, 17), .VI.12.4 (p. 471, 4) and also ἀμήχανον (III.12.22 (p. 368, 22), VI.24.12 (p. 259, 8). The meaning is the same, "helpless". In this case we should accept most manuscripts' reading. Perhaps it was a marginal gloss in a previous manuscript. The reading of **Ath** is unique also regarding the later manuscripts.

3.17.5.e) VII. 4.13 (p. 315, 3-4): ... προϊόντος, ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς, τοῦ πολέμου πάμπαν κρατήσειν τῶν **ἐναντίων** (πολεμίων **Ath**) ἐλπίδα ἔχω. These two variants are both very frequently used in Procopius. The reading of **Ath** is not wrong as it has the same meaning as πολεμίων, but it is not transmitted by any other manuscript.

3.17.5.f) VII. 7.6 (p. 325, 25-27): ἐπιβαίνοντες οὖν κατ' ἐξουσίαν οἱ βάρβαροι τοῖς σκάφεσι τῶν ἐναντίων, ἔκτεινόν τε καὶ κατέδυον οὐδενὸς σφίσιν **ἀντιστατοῦντος** (sscr. ἀντικαθισταμένου **Ath**). The superscription is a synonym (gloss).

3.17.5.g) VII. 9.16 (p. 335, 5-7): οὐ γὰρ ἡμετέρας ἀρετῆς ἔργον εἶναι φημὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπικράτησιν, ἀλλὰ **τίσιν τινὰ** (Compar. : τισι τινὰ **K**, τὰς ποινὰς **L**, τοῖς εἰς ποινὰς **Ath**) ἰσχυρίζομαι τῆς εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀδικίας αὐτοὺς μετελθεῖν. The editor suggests that the meaning of "a kind of vengeance" is correct here. The reading of **L** and **Ath** with ποινὰς must have come from a gloss (τίσεις = ποινὰς) that at some point replaced the original in the text. The reading of **Ath** seems to be phonetic (['tisinti'na], [tisispi'nas]) and very likely caused by dictation, either at an earlier stage in the transmission process, or by the scribe of **Ath** through internal dictation. It is not transmitted by manuscripts copied later.

3.17.5.h) VII. 14.13 (p. 355, 14-16): τῷ κεκτημένῳ ἐς ὄψιν **ἥκων** (ἐλθὼν sscr. ἢ ἥκων **Ath**) τῆς τε φιλανθρωπίας ἐπῆνεσε καὶ πολλὰ μὲν οἱ διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἰσχυρίσατο τἀγαθὰ ἔσεσθαι... Both the original reading and the superscript are grammatically correct. But ἥκων is more plausible as it is used by all other manuscripts and because it is used much more frequently in *Wars*, eighty-five times

rather than the ἐλθὼν which is used only thirty-five. Anyway later manuscripts transmit the reading of **L** and **K**.

3.17.5.i) VII. 15.4 (p. 360, 26-27): ...ὡς δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐκ τῆς **πόλεως** (ζημίας crossed out **Ath**) ἐπεξῄει, κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὸν λιμένα παντάπασιν ἀπαθεῖς ἀνεχώρησαν. It is strange that the word ζημίας is crossed out and the correct word is not given in the text of **Ath**. The most plausible explanation for it is that someone else who was reading the text realised that this word was not suitable, crossed it out, but failed to insert the correct word. The scribe himself cannot have made the deletion, because in this case the correct word should have been put. The word ζημία (= "loss") perhaps intruded from a marginal note, explaining ἀπαθεῖς (= <ἄνευ> ζημίας = "they quickly retired to the harbour without suffering any loss"). The word ζημίας does not appear in any of the later manuscripts.

3.17.5.j) VII. 25.1 (p. 407, 16-18): ...οἵπερ ἀμφὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως περίβολον ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐπολιόρκουν **ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς** (ἀκριβῶς **Ath**) τοὺς ταύτῃ Ῥωμαίους. The phrase and the adverb are used for the same purpose by Procopius; but the phrase is used much more frequently (fifty-two times) than the adverb (eleven times). I believe that the correct form is what most manuscripts transmit, including all manuscripts examined and copied later.

3.17.5.k) VII. 39.22 (p. 474, 16-18): ...ἄγγελον πέμψαντες Γερμανῷ σημαίνειν ἐκέλευον ὡς, ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα **ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ γενόμενον αὐτὸν** (**K** : ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ γενόμενον γερμανὸν **L**, γερμανὸν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ γενόμενον **Ath**) ἴδοιεν, ἐνστρατοπεδευομένην τε τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν... The reading of **L** keeps the same order as the correct one, but replaces the pronoun by the noun it refers to, to make the text clearer. Perhaps it was noted in the margin. **Ath** transmits the same words with **L**, but changes the order. This means that they may have had the same exemplar, and **Ath** corrects the order of words. The readings of **Ath** and **L** are not wrong, but I believe that the original text must have had the pronoun.

3.17.5.l) VIII. 6.2 (p. 509, 14-16): ...τεκμηριούμενοι δὲ ὡς ἡ μὲν θάλασσα προϊοῦσα ἐκ τῶν ἑσπερίων ἐπὶ τὴν ἑῴαν **φέρεται** (**K** : στέλλεσθαι **L**, στέλλεται **Ath**) μᾶραν... There is a link between **Ath** and **L**; they use the same verb, which does not fit the meaning ("it is sent"). However **Ath** uses the correct form, while the infinitive of **L** is not suitable as a finite verb is required. All later manuscripts agree either with **L** or with **K**.

3.17.5.m) VIII. 6.20 (p. 514, 2-4): ταῦτα ὁ Σταγειρίτης ἐννοῶν τε καὶ ἀνακυκλῶν ἐπὶ χρόνου μῆκος, δυσθανατῶν ἐπὶ ξυννοίᾳ **ἀφίκετο** (**K** : ᾖει **L**, ἦν **Ath**) ἐς τὸ μέτρον τοῦ βίου. The first is a phonetic error in **Ath**. As for the second variant, I believe that the correct one is **K**'s which the editor accepts, because the meaning is "...and so reached the term of his life". The reading of **L** may have been a marginal gloss to ἀφίκετο, because the two verbs have the same meaning.

3.18. Various other errors

3.18.a) V. 20.10 (p. 103, 4-6): εἰ δέ γε **θράσει** (θάρσει **Ath**) ἐχόμενος ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὥρμησαι, πάντως σοι καὶ μεταμέλει τῶν εἰκῇ πεπραγμένων. The form of the word that **Ath** uses is the alternative form of the word θάρρος. The cluster -ρσ is used in a few nouns in Roman and Byzantine papyri, mainly in θάρρος and ἄρρην (θάρσος and ἄρσην); the -ρρ is used mostly in verbs. Θάρσος and θράσος have almost the opposite meaning: θάρσος is synonymous with ἀνδρεία meaning generally "bravery", while θράσος is the "foolish bravery, foolhardiness".[156] And this is the meaning that the author wants to give here; in the first part of the sentence there is εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρεία... and in the second the opposite is necessary: εἰ δὲ γε θράσει... So the word that is θράσος, "rashness with leads to a foolish action". Some lines before (20.9 (p. 102, 23), the speaker gives the subject of the speech and the answer to which of the nouns is the correct reading: θράσος κεχώρισται ἀνδρείας. So the reading of **Ath** is wrong. In VI. 7.3 (P. 180, 5-8): ...Βελισάριος ἐς Ὀστίαν ξὺν ἱππεῦσιν ἑκατὸν ἦλθε καὶ τά τε ξυμπεπτωκότα ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ τά τε ξυγκείμενα σφίσι τε καὶ Γότθοις εἰπὼν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα **παραθαρσύνας** (παραθρασύνας **Ath**)... the scribe makes the opposite mistake. The above terms are transmitted correctly by later manuscripts.

3.18.b) V. 22.5 (p. 108, 23-24): Ῥωμαίων δὲ ὁ λεὼς ἅπας ἀνέκραγον ἐξαίσιόν τε καὶ ἀκοῆς **κρεῖσσον** (κρεῖττον **Ath**)... The scribe of **Ath** usually uses double τ instead of double σ in cases like this. Forms in ττ are clearly Attic and predominate in the Roman and Byzantine periods, while σσ is used in Koine. Thucydides used the σσ-types, in contradiction to the tendency in his period; I believe that Procopius both

[156] Cf. I.3.12 (p. 12, 16-17): βουλεύεσθαι μάλλον ἢ θρασύνεσθαι; IV.21.15 (p. 519,20): θράσει ἀπερισκέπτῳ ἐχόμενος; VI.10.7 (p. 193,16): θράσει ἀλογίστῳ ἐχόμενος.

having as model Thucydides and following the language of his time used the -σσ- forms. But the scribe who copies later, possibly having good knowledge of Attic, copies wrongly, thinking that Procopius wrote in genuine Attic. Κρεῖσσον is also transmitted by all later manuscripts examined. The same happens in VI. 7.1 (p. 179, 18): ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα **ἐπράσσετο** (ἐπράττετο **Ath**) τῇδε...

3.18.c) VI. 4.23 (p. 168, 17-19): ἐν δὲ **τῇ** (τῷ **Ath**) τοῦ Βεβίου ὑπερβολῇ σπήλαιον κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα βαθὺ φαίνεται... This is an inadvertent error by the scribe of **Ath**.

3.18.d) VI. 19.9 (p. 234, 6-8): ταύτῃ ὁ Ναρσῆς **τῇ ὑποθήκῃ** (τῆς ὑποθήκης **Ath**) ἀναπεισθεὶς νύκτωρ τὴν προσεδρείαν διέλυσε... The genitive is not justified; perhaps it comes from internal dictation. It cannot be explained as misunderstanding of ligature or abbreviations, as both the article and the noun is changed to genitive.

3.18.d) VI. 25.3 (p. 261, 19-22): ...οἳ δὴ καὶ μόνοι δόρατα ἔφερον, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ πεζοὶ ἅπαντες οὔτε **τόξα** (τόξον **Ath**) οὔτε δόρατα ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ ξίφος τε καὶ ἀσπίδα φέρων ἕκαστος καὶ πέλεκυν ἕνα. The singular used by **Ath** is not suitable here as δόρατα connected with the same negative is in the plural. In the following sentence, the nouns are in the singular, because the writer refers to each soldier (ἕκαστος). Perhaps this confuses the scribe.

3.18.e) VII. 25.24 (p. 411, 20-21): ὧν δὴ μεταξὺ **ἐπιπεσόντων** (ἐπιπεσόντος **Ath**) γενέσθαι τι τῶν δεόντων ἀδύνατον. This is lack of attention by the scribe, because it is easily recognisable that the participle goes with the genitive ὧν.

3.18.f) VIII. 1.7 (p. 488, 19-21): ...καὶ μὴ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀφανῶν σφίσιν ὥσπερ οἱ **σκιαμαχοῦντες** (σκιομαχοῦντες **Ath**) διαλέγεσθαι ἀναγκάζωνται... A simple change of α to ο, possibly because the word σκιαμάχεσθαι is unfamiliar to the scribe.

3.18.g) VIII. 14.28 (p. 561, 18-20): **αἱρομένην** (αἰσχυνομένην **Ath**) δὲ τὴν φλόγα ἐξαπιναίως Ῥωμαίοι ἰδόντες ὀλίγοι μὲν τινὲς ἐβοήθουν... The verb transmitted by **Ath** is wrong, as it makes no sense to the sentence and in addition, it is not transmitted by any other manuscript.

CONCLUSION

The above errors of **Ath**, which appear in all six hands, are of minor importance and therefore no conclusions can be drawn as to the abilities and habits of its scribes. In addition, some of these mistakes seem not to have been made by the scribes of **Ath**, but to have derived from the exemplar. This is attested by the repetition of the same passage, including the same mistakes in Book V (see above, 3.17.2.c., p. 115-6). However, there are other mistakes for which the scribes of **Ath** seem to have been responsible. For example, the frequent interchange of single and double consonants, and especially of *lambda*, the unnecessary addition of articles to specify the subject, the addition or omission of prepositions which affect the vocabulary, the omission of words and phrases affecting the meaning without affecting the syntax, the attempt of the scribes to etymologise proper names, and the frequent change of the endings of verbs and participles, a fact that affects the syntax; all these are some of the most characteristic tendencies of the scribes of **Ath**, which may not be simple reproductions from the exemplar.

Despite its minor but numerous phonetic, grammatical, syntactical and linguistic errors, codex **Ath** represents an important link in the manuscript tradition of family **y** for three reasons: First, it contains common readings with manuscripts copied in a later period (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), which are not transmitted either by **K** of the **z** family, or by **L** of the **y** family. The next chapter will deal with the later manuscripts and their relations with **Ath**, as well as with their position in the *stemma codicum* in relation with **Ath**. Secondly, **Ath** confirms the emendations introduced by editors and scholars in thirty cases and offers new defensible readings in eleven cases. Thirdly and more importantly, being the earliest extant manuscript of family **y**, **Ath** is instrumental in reconstructing the tradition of this family.

Chapter 3
A study of the manuscript tradition of family y in the light of manuscript Ath

In his edition Haury omitted to collate all manuscripts of family y except the principal manuscript **L**. This makes a reconstruction of his proposed *stemma codicum* impossible to verify. In addition, Haury only gave very brief descriptions of these manuscripts, some of which (**γ** and **δ**) it seems he did not consult fully if at all. Before proceeding, therefore, to a reconstruction of the possible relations of all manuscripts of family **y**, including **Ath**, it would be helpful to provide a more analytical description of all extant manuscripts of this family (with the exception of *Monac. gr.* 513 (**d**) of the sixteenth century)[157] with updated information on the palaeographical aspect including a re-assessment of their dating. This description is based on an examination of the codices through microfilm.

a *Ambrosianus* A182 sup.[158]

End of 14th/beginning 15th c.;[159] paper; 248 ff.; 312x212mm; 31-32 lines per page.
Contents: Procopius' *Wars* V-VIII, f. 1-8v, 25-181v, 184-188, and also *Buildings* and *Secret History*, Ch. I-XXX.

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[157] See above, fn. 102.

[158] Haury used the *siglum* **A** for part of the text II.642,24-662,18: στρατιὰν – αὐτοῦ (ff. 177v-181r), which he classified under family **z**, while he used the *siglum* **a** for the rest of the text in the codex, which he classified in family **y**. For a description of this manuscript, see A. Martini – D. Bassi, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae* (Milano, 1906), vol. I, no. 75, p. 89; B. Flusin, "La tradition manuscrite du *De Aedificiis*", *Antiquité Tardive* 8 (2000), 10.

[159] E. Gamillscheg – D. Harlfinger – H. Hunger et al., *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten, 800-1600* (Vienna, 1981, 1989, 1997): II Taf. 13 *Laurentianus Plut.* 70.9 written by Andreas Leantinos (c. 1399); II Taf. 120 *Parisinus* 445 by John Doukas (c. 1375-1399); II Taf. 132 *Parisinus Supl.* 192 by Joannis Trimoteos Zoos (c. 1439); Taf. 158 *Vaticanus* 1339 by Ioasaf (c. 1350-1399).

Collation: A much later hand has numbered the recto folios in Arabic numerals. Several folios have been affected by worm at the edges of the pages.

Headings: There is a title at the beginning of the fifth book: προκοπίου καισαρέως ἱστορία γοτθικῶν πολέμων οὓς διὰ τοῦ βελισαρίου ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς συνεστήσατο, ἐν τέσαρσι τόμοις διηρημένη. ἀρχὴ τοῦ πρώτου τόμου. The sixth book begins on f. 54r with the title ἀρχὴ τῆς ἕκτης ἱστορίας προκοπίου, while the seventh book begins on f. 89r ἱστοριῶν λόγος εὔδομος. Similarly the eighth book begins on f. 129v with the heading ἱστοριῶν λόγος ὄγδοος προκοπίου.

Script:[160] Three hands contributed to the copying of the codex. A tidy hand A copied the largest part, ff. 1r-177r and 184v-187v. The handwriting is very small and the *ductus* is thin. This scribe uses several abbreviations, the most characteristic being the endings -ων ( ), -ον ( ), -εν ( ), -ας ( ), -ως ( ) and και ( ) and δὲ ( ). He also uses several ligatures: ην ( ), ευ ( ), ἐν ( ), ἐπὶ ( ) and the most characteristic letters are *tau* ( ), *rho* ( ) and *nu* ( ). A similar hand B copied the ff. 177v-181r in small letters, of which the most characteristic are *ksi* ( ), *upsilon* ( ) and *sigma* ( ), the ligature ἐπὶ ( ) and the abbreviation of the ending -ων ( ). There are bigger calligraphic capital letters in the margins in both hands. A totally different hand C copied f. 188r in thick *ductus* and large letters, most characteristic being *sigma* ( ), *chi* ( ) and *psi* ( ).

Notes and scholia: There are brief scholia by the same hand in margins: f. 2r: παράδοξον; f. 6v: ἀρχὴ πολέμου; f. 6r: ἅλωση σικελίας ὑπὸ βελισαρίου; f. 8v: χρησμός; f. 28r: παραίνεσις βελισαρίου πρὸς νεαπολίτας; f. 42v: ἀμείβεται βελισάριος οὐίτιγιν; f. 63r: βλέπε οἷος βελισάριος πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον; f. 73r: παραίνεσις μουνδίλα πρὸς τὸν στρατόν; f. 171r: ἀντίρρησις φράγγων. At the end of Book VI, f. 89v there is an extended scholion: ὅρα τὴν βελισαρίου μεγαλοψυχίαν καὶ ἐλευθέριον γνώμην καὶ πίστιν πρὸς ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα, καὶ ὅτι ἐν πέντε ἔτεσιν ἤνυσεν τὰ κατὰ ἰταλίας και ἰουτίγιδος κατορθώματα. In three cases (f. 67r, 72r, 149v) there is an abbreviation for γνωμικὸν and in a single case (f. 184r) there is an abbreviation for ὡραῖον by a different hand.

Errors and corrections: There are marginal corrections in three cases (ff. 56v, 87v, 172r) by the same hand, which copied the main text. Otherwise there is no other correction in the text.

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[160] See below, Pl. XI a-c.

b *Parisinus graecus* 1703[161]

15th c.; paper; 165ff; 288x212mm; 31-32 lines per page.
Contents: Procopius' *Wars* V-VIII. The last part of the text, p. 671,17 (κατὰ τῆς σικελίας) to the end, is missing.
Collation: A later hand has numbered correctly the extant recto folios in Arabic numerals. The codex is in a good condition with no effects by worms. On f. 123v a note shows that the manuscript was owned at some stage by Michael Leontarios, of whom nothing is known: τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ὑπάρχει Μιχαὴλ τοῦ λεοντουάρη.[162]
Headings: Book V begins with the title προκοπίου καισαρέως ἱστορία γοτθικῶν πολέμων οὓς διὰ τοῦ βελισαρίου στρατηγοῦ ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς συνεστήσατο, ἐν τέσαρσι τόμοις διηρημένη. ἀρχὴ τοῦ πρώτου τόμου.

In f. 37 a note introduces the sixth book: ἀρχὴ τῆς ἕκτης ἱστορίας προκοπίου, on f. 75r Book VII with the heading ἱστοριῶν λόγος ἕβδομος and finally in f. 126r Book VIII with προκοπίου καισαρέως ἱστοριῶν γοτθικῶν τέταρτη. All headings are preceded by simple *vignettes*.
Script: Two hands have contributed to the copying of this manuscript. Scribe A copied ff. 1-88v, while scribe B copied the rest of the codex, ff. 89r-165. Characteristic letters of hand A are: *beta* ( ), *gamma* ( ), *delta* ( ), *nu* ( ), *lambda* ( ), *tau* ( ) while there are also characteristic ligatures: *epsilon-iota* ( ), *epsilon-nu* ( ) and εἰς ( ). Hand B, a bit untidier in thinner ductus and larger letters, is similar to A; the letters *beta* ( ), *lambda* ( ) and *chi* ( ) are the most characteristic of this hand and also the ligature *omikron-upsilon* ( ). Both hands are clear and easily legible and they use punctuation and accents consistently and correctly. There are capital letters in the margins in both hands, but in hand B they are bigger.
Notes and scholia: There are brief scholia in the margins; some of them are by the hand which copied the main text, e.g., f. 2v: τελευτήσαντος τε αὐτοῦ περιέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν ἀταλάριχος; f. 18v: δημηγορία Θευδάτου πρὸς Γότθους; f. 65r: βουλὴ συγγραφέως πρὸς Βελισάριον; f. 75r: ὅρα ἔπαινον Βελισαρίου; f. 101v: γραφὴ τουτίλα πρὸς Ιουστινιανὸν βασιλέα. On f. 74v after the end of Book VI there is a scholion by hand A: ὅρα τὴν βελισαρίου μεγαλοψυχίαν καὶ ἐλευθέριον γνώμην καὶ πίστιν πρὸς ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα, καὶ ὅτι ἐν πέντε ἔτεσιν ἤνυσεν τα κατὰ ἰταλίας και ἰουτίγιδος κατορθώματα. Most of

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[161] For a description of this codex, see H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscripts grecs de la Bibliothéque Nationale* (Paris, 1888), vol. II, p. 127
[162] See below, Pl. XXII.

the scholia in the margins are by a later untidy hand C, which copies the parts of the text in the margins preceded by ὅτι: f. 5r: ὅτι οἱ πρέσβεις ἐς βυζάντιον ἐπανήκοντες; f. 5r: ὅτι ἀταλάριχος ἐτελεύτησεν ὀκτὼ ἔτη τῇ αρχῇ ἐπιβιοὺς; f. 56r: ὅτι βελισάριος καὶ ναρσῆς ἀνεμίγνυντο ἀμφὶ πόλιν φίρμον or writes a name in margin when first indroduced: f. 76v: βιτάλιος; f. 96v: τωλλιανὸς; f. 117r: σέρμιον . The same hand writes in the top margin of each verso folio προκοπίου and in the recto γοτθικῶν ἱστοριῶν followed by the number of the book, α΄, β΄, γ΄, δ . There are also notes in the margins to note the proverbs by the abbreviated γινωμικὸν (11r, 14r, 14v, 44r, 56v, 65r, 74v. 106v) or to mark noteworthy phrases by the abbreviated ση(μείωσαι) (4r, 17r, 76r, 80r, 98r) written by both hands.
Errors and corrections: In three cases (52r, 114v, 124v) there are words or phrases crossed out, which were repeated by mistake due to *homoioteleuton*. In a single case there is an interlinear correction by the same hand (129v), while in one case a later hand, perhaps of the sixteenth century, corrects in the margin: γρ(άφε) διοικήσησθαι (72v).

h *Parisinus graecus* 1310[163]

15th c.; paper; 446 ff.; 220x140mm.
This is a miscellaneous manuscript with various fragments copied by several hands. It contains excerpts from Gregory of Cyprus, Demetrios Kydones, Gregory of Nazianzus, Empedocles, Xiphilinus, Ptochoprodromus, Hesiod, Michael Psellus and others. Among them on f. 408v[164] there is a fragment of 26 lines from Procopius' *Wars* with the title in the same hand "ἐκ τῆς ἱστορικῆς πραγματείας προκοπίου περὶ μετάξης". Characteristic letters of the hand which copied this part are: *theta* (ϑ), *rho* (ρ) and *chi* (χ). There are also ligatures, most characteristic with *tau*, such as τά (τα) and abbreviations, most characteristic being the endings –ον (=) and –ας (ᾶς). The codex belonged to John IV Lascaris, the son of Theodore II.

[163] For the description and the contents of this manuscript, see H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothéque Nationale* (Paris, 1886), vol. I, p. 296.
[164] See below, Pl. XIII a.

c *Ambrosiani* A52-55 sup.[165]

16th c.; paper; A52 sup. 183 ff., 215x153mm; A53 sup. 183 ff., 213x153mm; A54 sup. 236 ff., 212x153mm; A55 sup. 213 ff., 213x152mm; 13 lines per page.

Contents: A 52 sup. contains Procopius' *Wars*, Book V; A 53 sup. Book VI; A 54 sup. Book VII; A 55 sup. Book VIII. There is a gap in the text, Book VIII, p. 642,24 – 662,18.

Collation: Pages are numbered correctly in Arabic numerals, though in A54 and A55 the numbers have faded away. Parts of A55 ff. 193v and 194r are blank where a part of the text is missing.

Headings: Book V follows after the heading: προκοπίου καισαρέως ἱστορία γοτθικῶν πολέμων οὓς διὰ τοῦ βελισαρίου στρατηγοῦ, ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς συνεστήσατο, ἐν τέταρσι τόμοις διηρημένη, ἀρχὴ τοῦ πρώτου τόμου. Book VI follows the heading ἀρχὴ τοῦ β' τόμου της στ ης ἱστορίας προκοπίου. In f. 183v the sixth book finishes with the note τέλος τοῦ δευτέρου τόμου της ἱστορίας προκοπίου, while Book VII begins in f. 184r. Similarly Book VIII begins with the title ἀρχὴ τοῦ δ' τόμου της ηης ἱστορίας προκοπίου and it finishes with the word τέλος.

Script: All four codices were written in the same clear and easily legible handwriting. Haury does not identify the hand, but it has recently been identified as the hand of the very productive scribe Andreas Darmarios (c. 1540-1587).[166] Characteristic letters are *gamma* ( ), *zeta* ( ), *tau* ( ), *ksi* ( ) and *psi* ( ). There is a limited use of ligatures, the most characteristic is ἐπὶ ( ) and no use of abbreviations. The punctuation and accents are clear and consistent. There are bigger decorated letters in the margins, e.g., 1r, 18r.

Notes and Scholia: There are only three marginal scholia in this codex (f. 18r: γράφει ὁ ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς πρὸς ἀμαλασούνθα;[167] f. 18v: ἀντίγραμμα; f. 177v: φθόνος κατὰ βελισαρίου). Otherwise, there are

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[165] The codex is described in Cf. Martini – Bassi, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, vol. I, no. 3, p. 5.

[166] Martini – Bassi, *Catalogus Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, p. 5: "Manu Andreae Darmarii". Andreas Daramarios was born in Monembasia. He studied in Sparta under the priest Dorotheos from Nauplion. In 1559 he was employed in Rome, in 1560 in Padua and later in Venice, Trient, Augsburg, Madrid, Escorial, Saragossa, Salamanca, Strassburg. He has been one of the collaborators of Manuel Probatares and he worked in the studio of Nicolaos Choniates. He also worked with Antonios Calosynas, Michael Myriokephalites and with other important scribes of the time. He copied under the instructions of Isaac Casaubon, Antonio de Coverrubias, Andreas Schott and Philip II. Cf. Gamillscheg, *Repertotium*, vol. I, p. 29; A. Bravo Garcia, "Once more on Darmarios' collaborators" in *The Greek Script in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute of Byzantine Research International Symposium 7, ed. S. Patoura (Athens, 2000), pp. 193-213

[167] See below, Pl. XIII b.

scholia in the text, mostly headings to speeches and letters, e.g. A52: f. 28v: ἐπιστολὴ βασιλέως ἰουστινιανοῦ πρὸς φράγγους;[168] f. 35r: ἀντίγραμμα βασιλέως πρὸς αὐτόν; f. 127r: πρέσβις οὐιτίγιδος πρὸς βελισάριον καὶ ῥωμαίους; f. 174v: γραφὴ ἰουτίγιδος πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν στρατόν; A53: f. 16r: λόγος ῥωμαίων πρὸς βελισάριον; A54: f. 124r: ἐπιστολὴ βελισαρίου πρὸς τωτίλαν. In A53 f. 183v there is an extended note: ὅρα την βελισαρίου μεγαλοψυχίαν καὶ ἐλευθέριον γνώμην καὶ πίστιν πρὸς ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα, και ὅτι ἐν πέντε ἔτεσιν ἤνυσεν τα κατὰ ἰταλίας και ἰουτίγιδος κατορθώματα.

Errors and corrections: There are some errors, most of which may be due to misreading of the exemplar; in some cases they are underlined and corrected interlinearly (e.g., A52: ff. 17v, 24v, 33r, 34r, 50r, 105v, 124v; A53: 4v, 73v, 110v; A54: 154v, 199v; A55: 9v, 13v, 64v). In three cases the corrections are marginal preceded by an abbreviated γρ(άφε) (A53: f. 17v; A55: 28v, 63r). The scribe of e frequently omits part of the text, sometimes whole sentences, which he replaces by dots: e.g. A54: f. 137v, 200r, 206r; A55: 78r.

k *Basileensis gr.* D IV 6[169]

1574 A.D.; paper; 619 ff.; 223x152mm; 19 lines per page.

Contents: Procopius' *Wars* V-VIII with a gap in Book VIII, p. 642,24 – 662,18.

Collation: Folia are numbered correctly in Arabic numerals. F. 604v is blank and it only contains three times the word λείπει.

Headings: Book V begins with the title προκοπίου καισαρέως ἱστορία γοτθικῶν πολέμων οὓς διὰ τοῦ βελισαρίου στρατηγοῦ, ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς συνεστήσατο, ἐν τέταρσι τόμοις διηρημένη, ἀρχὴ τοῦ πρώτου τόμου. Book VI begins in f. 143r with ἀρχὴ τῆς ἕκτης ἱστορίας προκοπίου ending with τέλος τῆς ἕκτης ἱστορίας προκοπίου. The heading ἱστοριῶν λόγος ἕβδομος προκοπίου introduces Book VII on f. 285r. A wrong note introduces Book VIII (προκοπίου καισαρέως ἱστοριῶν λόγος ὄγδοος, περὶ τοῦ περσικοῦ πολέμου). At the end of Book VIII there is the note: τέλος αφοδ΄ (1574) μαίου κφ΄ ἐτελειώθη.[170] Codex *Salamantinus* 2750 (γ) (see below, pp. 139-140), copied by Antonios Calosynas, is dated in the prefatory letter on 24/5/1574 (see Appendix I, pp.

[168] See below, Pl. XIII c.

[169] For a description of this codex, see H. Omont, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs des Bibliothéques de Suisse* (Leipzig, 1886), no. 81, p. 33.

[170] See below, Pl. XIV a.

172-3), seven days before this codex. As the similarity of the handwriting also indicates, there is a possibility that these codices are related.

Script: Haury suggests (p. L) that the codex may have been copied by someone in the circle of Darmarios, without identifying the hand. The hand of Antonios Calosynas (c. 1562-1598) is very similar, (cf. description of codex γ below). The handwriting is large and clear. Characteristic letters are *beta* ( ), *theta* ( ), *ksi* ( ), *sigma* ( ) and the big *nu* ( ) at the end of lines. The most characteristic ligature is *tau-omikron* ( ) and also *epsilon-ypsilon* ( ), *epsilon-lambda* ( ), *epsilon-omega* ( ), *rho-omikron* ( ), *tau-rho* ( ) and *tau-omega* ( ), while of the abbreviations the most characteristic is the ending -ων ( ). Punctuation and the accents are used correctly. There are decorated letters in the margins, e.g., 26v, 29v, 35v, 56v, 299r.

Errors and Corrections: There are many spelling mistakes and omissions of syllables; a few of them are corrected in the margins (e.g., 2r, 35v, 82r, 176r, 407v). Some letters are missing and in their place there are dots (e.g. 3r, 78r, 312v); in some cases there are whole sentences omitted, similarly replaced by dots (e.g., 78r, 328v). There are errors which are corrected in the margin preceded by the abbreviated γρ(άφε) (e.g., 38r, 39r, 65v, 117v, 146v, 218r, 229r, 330r, 341r, 433v, 466r, 570v) and others which are corrected interlinearly (e.g., 13v, 23v, 110r, 308v, 461r). Some words or whole phrases are repeated due to *homoioteleuton*, which are underlined by the scribe (e.g. 87v, 162v, 323r, 342r, 382r, 418v, 563r, 578v).

Notes and scholia: There are only three marginal notes in this codex: f. 23r: ἅλωσις σικελίας ὑπὸ βελισαρίου, f. 180r: βλέπε οἵος ὁ βελισάριος πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον, f. 278v: φθόνος κατὰ βελισαρίου. However, there are notes in the text, mostly titles for speeches and letters: e.g., f. 56v: βουλὴ ἰουτίγιδος πρὸς τοὺς αὐτούς; f. 99r: ἀμείβεται βελισάριος οὐίτιγιν; f. 267v: πρέσβεις γερμανῶν πρὸς οὐίτιγιν; f. 320r: ἐπιστολὴ τωτίλα πρὸς τῇ βουλῇ ῥωμαίων; f. 527v: παραίνεσις ὀδονάχου καὶ βάβα πρὸς τὸν στρατόν. On f. 284v there is a large scholion: ὅρα τὴν βελισαρίου μεγαλοψυχίαν καὶ ἐλευθέριον γνώμην καὶ πίστιν πρὸς ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα, καὶ ὅτι ἐν πέντε ἔτεσιν ἤνυσεν τὰ κατὰ ἰταλίας καὶ ἰουτίγιδος κατορθώματα.

γ *Salamantinus* 2750[171] (formerly *Matritensis* 38)

1574 A.D.; paper; 605ff; 218x155mm; 20 lines per page.

Contents: Procopius' *Wars* V-VIII. F. 589v-590 are blank, containing only three times the word λείπει, where a part of the text is missing (Book VIII, p. 642,24 – 662,18). In ff. 1r-2v there is a letter by the copyist of the codex with the heading: Τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ ἀρχιερεῖ, καὶ πρωτοστάτῃ τέ τοῦ μεγαλοδύναμου βασιλέως Φιλίππου, ὁσος θεράπ(ων) ἀντώνιος ἰατρὸς φυσικὸς. The letter finishes with the words: ἔρρωσο· εἰς τολέτου, α$^{\omega}$φ$^{\omega}$οδ$^{\omega}$ μαίου ιζ$^{\eta}$. (see below, Appendix I, p. 172-3).

Collation: The pages are correctly numbered in Arabic numerals. F. 142v is blank and also half of f. 458v where there is a note by the same hand: οὐ λείπει ἁμάρτημα γὰρ.

Headings: Book V begins with the heading: προκοπίου καισαρέως ἱστορία γοτθικῶν πολέμων οὓς διὰ τοῦ βελισαρίου στρατηγοῦ, ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς συνεστήσατο ἐν τέταρσι τόμοις διηρημένη, ἀρχὴ τοῦ α τόμου. In f. 143r Book VI begins with ἀρχὴ τῆς ἕκτης ἱστορίας προκοπίου, while Book VII in f. 280r with προκοπίου καισαρέως λόγος ἕβδομος. In f. 447r the title ἱστοριῶν λόγος ὄγδοος προκοπίου.

Script: The hand of Antonios Calosynas[172] is clear and easily legible. The most characteristic letters are *beta* ( ), *gamma* ( ), *zeta* ( ), *theta* ( ), *tau* ( ) and the large *nu* ( ),[173] while there are characteristic ligatures, the most characteristic being *tau-omikron* ( ) and others such as *epsilon-lambda* ( ), *epsilon-ypsilon* ( ), *tau-alpha* ( ) and ἐπὶ ( ). There is a limited number of abbreviations, καὶ ( ) and –ων ( ) are the most characteristic.

Notes and scholia: There are only six marginal scholia in this codex by the same hand: f. 156r: βελισάριος πρὸς ῥωμαίους; f. 200r: ἤθη ἐρούλλων; f. 275r: φθόνος κατὰ βελισαρίου; f. 339v: ὁ τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ τῆς ῥώμης ἀρχιερεύς; f. 427v: τὰς ναῦς καλουμένας τριήρεις ὀνομάζει πλοία μακρά; f. 473v: ση(μείωσαι) ἄλλο περὶ τοῦτο γεγραφέναι βιβλίον. However, there are many interlinear scholia, mostly to introduce speeches

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[171] The codex is described in T. Santander, *La Biblioteca de Don Diego de Covarrubias y Leyva, Obispo de Ciudad Rodrigo y de Segovia, y Presidente del Consejo de Estado (1512-1577)* (Salamanca, 2000), vol. 1, pp. 180-82.

[172] Antonios Calosynas (c. 1562-1598) was born in Crete. In 1563 he was employed in Damarios' studio in Trient and in 1967-87 in Toledo He was a collaborator of Darmarios and he also worked with the scribes Michael Myriokephalites and Theolepros. He copied under the instructions of Martin Perez de Ayala, Garzia de Loyasa, Bishop of Toledo, the brothers Diego and Antonio Covarrubias and Philip II. Calosynas is he author of an Encomium, of the Biographies of Nikolaos and Demetrios Chalokocondyles and of a dedication to Diego and Antonio Covarrubias and Philip II. Cf. Gamillscheg, *Repertotium*, vol. I, p. 40.

[173] See below, Pl. XIV b.

and letters (e.g., f. 244r: βουλὴ τοῦ συγγραφέως πρὸς τὸν βελισάριον; f. 313v: ἐπιστολὴ τωτίλα πρὸς τῇ βουλῇ ῥωμαίων; f. 414v: πρεσβεία γηπαίδων). At the end of Book VI in f. 279v there is a large scholion: ὅρα την βελισαρίου μεγαλοψυχίαν καὶ ἐλευθέριον γνώμην καὶ πίστιν πρὸς ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα, καὶ ὅτι ἐν πέντε ἔτεσιν ἤνυσεν τα κατὰ ἰταλίας καὶ ἰουτίγιδος κατορθώματα. In a single case, f. 593v the note ὡραῖον is in the text.[174]

Errors and corrections:[175] There are several corrections of words in margins, preceded by the abbreviation of γρ(άφε) (e.g., 20r, 35r, 82r, 271v, 346r, 602v). There are several spelling mistakes in the text, some of which were corrected in the margin and others are corrected interlinearly (e.g., 118r, 177r, 287r, 413r, 542r) or are underlined with dots (126r, 132r, 558r). In other cases omitted words are added in margins (e.g., 151r, 156v, 464r). There are also several repetitions of phrases or whole sentences due to *homoioteleuton*, which the scribe always realised and crossed out (e.g., 26r, 54r, 135v, 143r, 382v, 401r, 415r). In a few cases there are dots in place of letters, possibly because the scribe could not read the letters from his exemplar (e.g., 5r, 69v, 266r). In three cases there are dots in place of whole missing phrases: ff. 321v, 429v, 504v.

n *Monacensis gr. 87*[176]

16th c.; paper; 386 ff; 331x227mm; 30 lines per page.

Contents: Procopius' Wars V-VIII with a gap in Book VIII, p. 642,24-662,18 (στρατῷ ... ἀπράκτῳ) as well as some of Synesius' Letters.[177]

Collation: The recto folios are numbered in Arabic numbers in the right hand corner, while all recto and verso folios are numbered again in Arabic numerals. The bottom one third of f. 2r and the whole of f. 2v are blank, but no text is missing, The bottom two thirds of f. 262v and the whole of 263v are blank, where there is a gap in the text. The codex is in a good physical condition, except of f. 70, which is affected by worm.

Headings: Book V begins with the heading προκοπίου καισαρέως ἱστορία γοτθικῶν πολέμων οὓς διὰ τοῦ βελισαρίου στρατηγοῦ, ἰουστινιανὸς

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[174] See below, Pl. XIV c.

[175] See below, Pl. XXVIII c.

[176] This codex is described in I. Hardt, *Catalogus codicum manoscriptorum Graecorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bauaricae*, (Munich, 1806-1812), vol. 1, pp. 485-86. It is stated that the codex "optimae conservatus and inscriptus est".

[177] The Letters of Synesius included in this codex are: *Ad imperatorem Arcadium de imperio, Calvitii encomium, Aegiptii, Ad Paeonium de dono astrolabii, Concio, Homiliae duae, Hymni metrici.*

βασιλεὺς συνεστήσατο, ἐν τέταρσι τόμοις διηρημένη, ἀρχὴ τοῦ πρώτου τόμου. Book VI begins on f. 50r with ἀρχὴ τῆς ἕκτης ἱστορίας προκοπίου, while Book VII with ἱστοριῶν λόγος ἕβδομος on f. 112r and Book VIII with ἱστοριῶν λόγος ὄγδοος προκοπίου on f. 185r. Book VIII finishes on f. 249r, ff. 249v-250v are blank and on f. 251r the other work starts with the heading: συνεσίου κυρηναίου εἰς αὐτοκράτορα ἀρκάδιον περί βασιλείας.

Script: The codex was written by one hand, in a clear handwriting with characteristic letter the *tau* ( ) and ligatures *epsilon-ksi* ( ), *epsilon-rho* ( ) and *tau-rho* ( ). This scribe makes no use of abbreviations. There are a few capital letters in the margins. The changes of paragraphs are indicated by change of line.

Notes and scholia: There are no notes or scholia, except for one scholion, which is at the end of Book VI on f. 111v in red ink: ὅρα τὴν βελισαρίου μεγαλοψυχίαν καὶ ἐλευθέριον γνώμην καὶ πίστιν πρὸς ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα, καὶ ὅτι ἐν πέντε ἔτεσιν ἤνυσεν τὰ κατὰ ἰταλίας καὶ ἰουτίγιδος κατορθώματα.[178]

Errors and corrections: In this codex there are corrections of the wrong words in the margins (e.g., 7r, 58r, 168v, 173r) and interlinear corrections (e.g., 47r, 71r, 90v, 119r). In a single case, f. 95r, a phrase, which is copied twice due to *homoioteleuton*, is crossed out.

δ *Scorialensis* Y. I. 13[179]

16th c.; paper; 220 ff.; 336x232mm; 30 lines per page.

Contents: Procopius' *Wars* V-VI up to p. 217,9 (ξὺν ταῖς γυναιξὶ τὴν) on ff. 24-107v. It also contains other authors, such as Nonnus of Panopolis, Michael Psellus, Photius and others.

Collation: All recto folia are numbered correctly in Arabic numerals by a much later hand.

Headings: Book V begins on f. 24r of the codex after a vignette without heading.[180] On f. 80v there is the heading βιβλίον β'ον to introduce Book VI.

Script: The codex was copied by one hand, whose handwriting is clear. Characteristic letters are *beta* ( ), *ksi* ( ) and *rho* ( ). The scribe also uses a limited number of ligatures (*epsilon-iota* ( )) and abbreviations (-ας ( )). Punctuation and accents are used correctly.

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[178] See below, Pl. XV a.

[179] For a description of this manuscript, see G. de Andres, *Catalogo de los codices griegos de la Real Biblioteca de el Escorial* (Madrid, 1965), vol. II, cod. 252, pp. 96-7.

[180] See below, Pl. XV b.

There are simple capital letters in the margins. Changes of paragraphs are indicated by change of line.
Notes and scholia: There are no notes or scholia.
Errors and corrections: There are no corrections in the text.

r *Vaticanus Reginensis graecus 84*[181]

16th c.; paper; 40 ff.; 336x232mm; 33-35 lines per page.
Contents: Procopius' *Wars* V-VI up to p.155,20-21 (ἄνδρα Πέρσην).
Collation: The codex is correctly numbered in Arabic numerals from 1-40.
Headings: A note in Latin on f. 1r denotes the possessor of the codex at some point: *ex libris Dionysii corsinii.* To introduce Book V there is a heading: προκοπίου καισαρέως ἱστορία γοτθικῶν πολέμων οὓς διὰ τοῦ βελισαρίου στρατηγοῦ, ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς συνεστήσατο , ἐν τέταρσι τόμοις διηρημένη, ἀρχὴ τοῦ πρώτου τόμου and with capital letters ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΩΤΟΥ ΤΟΜΟΥ. Book VI begins on f. 39v with the heading: ἀρχὴ τῆς ἕκτης ἱστορίας προκοπίου.[182]
Script: The codex is copied by one hand, with characteristic letters *gamma* ( ), *theta* ( ) and *lambda* ( ). The scribe uses characteristic ligatures with *epsilon*, such as *epsilon-iota* ( ), *epsilon-kapa* ( ), *epsilon-lambda* ( ) and *epsilon-pi* ( ). Abbreviations are employed very rarely, only when there is limited space at the end of lines (-ας ( ), -ων ( )). There are some capital letters in the margins, but not at the end of sentences. Similarly the change of line to denote a new paragraph is not in the end of sentences.
Notes and scholia: There are a few marginal notes, mostly headings to speeches and letters: f. 2v: παράδοξον; f. 4v: γράφε ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς ἀμαλασούνθα; f. 5v: γράφαι οὐκ ἀγαθήν; f. 6v: ἀρχὴ πολέμου; f. 7r: ἅλωση σικελίας ὑπὸ βελισαρίου; f. 20r: δημηγορία θευδάτου πρὸς γότθους.
Errors and corrections: In a single case (f. 5r) a part repeated due to *homoioteleuton* is underlined. In other cases repetitions are crossed out (e.g., 15r, 29r).

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[181] This codex is described in C. Pitra, *Codices Manuscripti graeci Reginae Suecorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Rome, 1888), p. 65.
[182] See below, Pl. XV c.

RELATIONS OF MANUSCRIPTS

Both **L** and **Ath** represent the earliest manuscripts of family **y**. **L** represents a good tradition with a few mistakes, mainly errors due to confusion of sounds, changes of prepositions, which indicate misunderstanding by the scribe and other minor errors.[183] A collation of the text in **Ath** and **L** shows that **L** is not a copy from **Ath**. Though **Ath** contains important unique readings, nevertheless due to its large number of spelling mistakes, unnecessary additions and omissions of articles and particles (see above, pp. 37-130), it represents an inferior tradition in comparison to that of **L**.

On the basis of the indirect relation of **Ath** and **L** the *stemma codicum* of family **y** can be reconstructed in a series of propositions:[184]

Proposition I: ***a derives directly from L***

(1) **a** is related closely to **L** through its marginal notes: e.g., γραφὴ Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς Ἀμαλασούνθα; ἀντίγραμμα (**L** f. 8v;[185] **a** f. 4r); ἀρχὴ τοῦ πολέμου (**L** f. 10r; **a** f. 6v); χρησμὸς (**L** f. 14v; **a** f. 8r); παραίνεσις βελισαρίου πρὸς νεαπολίταις (**L** f. 20r; **a** f. 28r); δημηγορία θευδάτου πρὸς γότθους (**L** f. 30r;[186] **a** f. 34v).

(2) **a** and **L** contain identical text with very few differences such as,: γενομένοι **L**, γενόμενοι **a** (p. 92, 27); ἀπὸ **L**] ἐπὶ **a** (p. 110,16); βουλευομένῳ **a**] βουβουλευομένῳ **L** (p. 178,23); ὄνων **L**] ζώων **a** (p. 213, 24).

Proposition II: ***b is linked to L through an indirect relation***

(1) **b** shares a small number of readings with **L**; e.g., εἰργάζετο **L, b** (p. 8, 18); ἐπήγγειλλεν **L, b** (p. 22, 12); εἴκοσιν **L, b** (p. 89, 6);

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[183] e.g., καρσιανὴν ~ καρκασιανὴν (p. 68, 11); ἐτόλμουν ~ ἐτόλμων (p. 104, 15); ἐγκωνίου ~ ἐγγωνίου (p. 206, 22); προκαλεῖσθαι ~ προκαλεῖσθαι (p. 301, 5); ὠθησμὸς ~ ὠθισμὸς (p. 319, 17); ξημήνας ~ σημήνας (p. 438, 22);: μέσου ~ μέσον (p. 491, 22). However, **L** transmits some errors concerning vocabulary and syntax (e.g., see above pp. 23-24), but these are not serious.

[184] Codex Parisinus 1310 (**h**) which contains a single folio from the text (Book VIII.17.1,14 - 8,20 (p. 576-7), is omitted from the discussion of the reconstruction of the stemma, for it could equally derive either from **a** or from **b**.

[185] See below, Pl. XVI a.

[186] See below, Pl. XVI b.

βόθρου **L, b** (p. 151, 20); ἔλεξε **L, b** (p. 232, 1); ἀμήχανα **L, b** (p. 266, 13).[187]

(2) Marginalia in **b** written in the same hand as that of the main text are shared both by **a** and **L**: e.g., παράδοξον (**L** f. 4r; **a** f. 2r; **b** f. 2v); γραφὴ Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς ἀμαλασούνθα (**L** f. 8v; **a** f. 4v; **b** f. 4v); ἀρχὴ τοῦ πολέμου (**L** f. 10r; **a** f. 6r; **b** f. 6r); ἐπιστολὴ Θευδάτου πρὸς βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν (**L** f. 13v; **a** f. 7v; **b** f. 7v).

(3) But **b** contains also unique marginal notes, possibly added in a later period, which repeat phrases of the text: e.g., ἦν δέ τις ἐν γότθοις θεύδατος (f. 3v); ὅτι οἱ πρέσβεις ἐς βυζάντιον ἐπανήκοντες (f. 5r); ὅτι βελισάριος σὺν ναυσὶν ἔστελλεν (f. 6v); ὅτι βελισάριος τῶν τινὰ ἀνέπεισε χρήμασι σὺν τῷ σίτῳ λάθρα ἐμπρῆσαι (f. 71v).

Proposition III: ***b is linked indirectly to Ath***

(1) **b** shares a considerable number of readings with **Ath**: e.g., ἐπὶ **Ath, b** (p. 110, 16); διαλάσσειν **Ath, b** (p. 177, 25); βουλευομένῳ (p. 178, 23); ζώων **Ath, b** (p. 213, 24); εἵλκεν **Ath, b** (p. 257, 1); ἀποβαλοῦσιν **Ath, b** (p. 266, 16).

(2) They do not share the same marginal notes.

Proposition IV: ***r is directly related to b***

(1) **r** (which contains Book V and part of book VI) shares identical text with **b**.

(2) **r** and **b** share the same marginalia, with the exception of those added in **b** by a later hand: e.g., ἐπιστολὴ θευδάτου πρὸς βασιλέα ἰουστινιανὸν (**r** f. 8r; **b** f. 7v); παραίνεσις βελισαρίου πρὸς νεαπολίτας (**r** f. 13r; **b** f. 12v); βουλὴ ἰουτίγιδος πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοῦ (**r** f. 16v; **b** f. 15r).

(3) **r** and **b** share change of paragraphs.

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[187] The particular readings have been selected to be used in these propositions, because they are common in **Ath** and in some of the later manuscripts, and therefore they can indicate their relations.

Proposition V: *γ, k and c are linked indirectly with L.*

(1) **γ, k** and **c** share the same notes with **L, a, b** and **r** (**γ, k** and **c** contain interlinear notes and **L, a, b** and **r** marginal): e.g., βλέπε οἷος ὁ βελισάριος πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον (**a**: f. 63r; **c**: f. 46v; **k**: f. 180r; **γ** f. 178r); βουλὴ ναρσοῦ (**a**: f. 71v; **c**: f. 91r; **k**: f. 214r; **γ** f. 211v); γραφὴ ἰωάννου πρὸς βελισάριον (**a**: f. 63r; **c**: 93r; **k**: f. 216r; **γ** f. 213r).

(2) **γ, k** and **c** contain several different readings from the **L** tradition (see below, Proposition VI)

Proposition VI: *k and c are linked closely with Ath*

(1) **k** and **c** share a considerable number of readings with **Ath**, which do not appear in **L**:

e.g., p. 66, 27: καταστρέψωνται **L**] καταστρέψονται **Ath** (f. 9v), **c** (f. 90r), **k** (f. 62v)
p. 68, 12: ἐπύθοντο **L**] ἐπείθοντο **Ath** (f. 10v), **c** (f. 82r), **k** (f. 64r)
p. 89, 6: εἴκοσι **Ath** (f. 13v), **c** (f. 108v), **k** (f. 84r)] εἴκοσιν **L**
p. 151, 20: βόθρου **L**] θορύβου **Ath** (f. 33r), **c** (f. 3r), **k** (f. 144v)
p. 154, 12: ἀμύνεσθαι **L**] ἀμύνασθαι **Ath** (f. 34v), **c** (f. 6v), **k** (f. 147v)
p. 163, 16: ἀναρριπτεῖν **L**, ἀναρίπτειν **Ath** (f. 39v), **c** (f. 18v), **k** (f. 157v)
p. 170, 17: ἀμύνασθαι **L**] ἀμύνεσθαι **Ath** (f. 43r), **c** (f. 27r), **k** (f. 164v)
p. 177, 25: διαλλάσσειν **L**] διαλάσσειν **Ath** (f. 46v), **c** (f. 35v), **k** (f. 172v)
p. 178, 23: βουλευομένῳ **Ath** (f. 47r), **c** (f. 37v), **k** (f. 173r), βουβουλευομένῳ **L**
p. 213, 24: ὄνων **L**] ζώων **Ath** (f. 65r), **c** (f. 82v), **k** (f. 208r)
p. 239, 10: ἐγίνοντο **L**] ἐγένοντο **Ath** (f. 78r), **c** (f. 114v), **k** (f. 232r)
p. 266, 13: ἀμήχανα **L**] ἀμήχανον **Ath** (f. 92v), **c** (f. 149v), **k** (f. 257v)
p. 301, 11: ἐρρήθη **L**] ἐρήθη **Ath** (f. 107v), **c** (f. 5v), **k** (f. 288r)

(2) **k** and **c** share a few variants which are different from **Ath**

e.g., p. 60, 24: ἰσχυν **Ath**, σκευὴν **c, k**
p. 232, 1: εἶπε **Ath** , ἔλεγεν **c, k**
p. 257, 1: εἶλκε **Ath**] ἀφείλκε **c, k**

p. 305, 2: μνηστὴρ γυναικὸς **Ath**, μνηστήρ γυναικὸς γεγονὼς **c, k**

(3) **k** and **c** do not contain the same notes as **Ath**

Proposition VII: ***γ is linked with Ath to a lesser degree than k and c***

(1) **γ** and **Ath** share a considerable number of readings against **L**

e.g., p. 22,12: ἐπήγγειλλεν **L**, ἐπήγγειλεν **Ath** (f. 5v), **γ** (f. 21r)
p. 92, 27: γενομένοι **L**, γενόμενοι **Ath** (f. 15r), **γ** (f. 89v)
p. 163, 16: ἀναρριπτεῖν **L**, ἀναρίπτειν **Ath** (f.39v), **γ** (f.156v)
p. 170, 17: ἀμύνασθαι **L**] ἀμύνεσθαι **Ath** (f. 43r), **γ** (f. 163r)
p. 177, 25: διαλλάσσειν **L**] διαλάσσειν **Ath** (f. 46v), **γ** (f.170r)
p. 213, 24: ὄνων **L**] ζώων **Ath** (f. 65r), **γ** (f. 205r)
p. 239, 10: ἐγίνοντο **L**] ἐγένοντο **Ath** (f. 78r), **γ** (f. 228v)
p. 266, 13: ἀμήχανα **L**] ἀμήχανον **Ath**(f. 92v), **γ** (f. 254v)
p. 266, 16: ἀποβαλλοῦσιν **L**, αποβαλοῦσιν **Ath** (f. 92v), **γ** (f. 254v)

(2) **γ** and **Ath** contain a small number of different readings

e.g., p. 60, 24: ἰσχυν **Ath**, σκευὴν **γ**
p. 66, 27: καταστρέψωνται **γ**] καταστρέψονται **Ath**
p. 68, 12: ἐπύθοντο **γ**] ἐπείθοντο **Ath**
p. 89, 6: εἴκοσι **Ath**] εἴκοσιν **γ**
p. 151, 20: βόθρου **γ**] θορύβου **Ath**
p. 154, 12: ἀμύνεσθαι **γ**] ἀμύνασθαι **Ath**
p. 178, 23: βουλομένῳ **γ**] βουλευομένῳ **Ath**
p. 207, 26: ταῖς **γ**, τοὺς ταῖς **Ath**
p. 232, 1: ἔλεξε **γ**] εἶπε **Ath**
p. 301, 11: ἐρρήθη **γ**] ἐρήθη **Ath**
p. 305, 2: μνηστὴρ γυναικὸς **Ath**] μνηστὴρ γυναικὸς γεγονὼς **γ**

(3) **γ** does not share the same marginalia with **Ath.**

Proposition VIII: ***γ and k share the same exemplar***

(1) **γ** and **k** were copied almost at the same time (they contain colophons with the dates 17 and 23 May 1574 respectively).

(2) **γ** and **k** were probably copied in the same scriptorium given the great similarity of the two hands (see above the descriptions of these codices, pp. 137-40)

(3) **γ** and **k** contain the same lacunae:
p. 342, 21: σπανίζοντες ... οἷς δὴ βασιλεὺς (**γ** f.321v; **k** f. 328v)
p. 455, 17: ἀνέπεισε ... τὸν δὲ ῥισιούλφου (**γ** f. 420r; **k** f. 433r)
p. 465, 1: ῥώμης ξυν ... εἰ δ' ὡς ἥκιστα (**γ** f. 429v; **k** f. 442v)
p. 549, 18: διεσείσε τε ... σπουδῆς ὁ χοσρόης (**γ** f. 504v; **k** f. 518r)

Proposition IX: ***c derives from k rather than from γ***

(1) **c** and **k** contain the same lacunae, which do not exist in **γ**
p. 82, 26: λιγούριοι ᾧκη ... τὰ μὲν πρὸς βορρὰν (**k** f. 78r; **c** A52 f. 101r)
p. 383, 23: ἔγνω καὶ τῆς ... αὐτῷ ξυμβάσης (**k** f. 367v; **c** A54 f. 109v)
p. 406, 15: ἐγχειρήμασι τουτίλα ἐτεθη ... ἴσα θεῷ (**k** f. 388r; **c** A54 f. 137v)

Proposition X: ***δ is directly related to n***

(1) **δ** and **n** share identical text.

(2) The first three folios of both **δ** and **n** contain exactly the same amount of text.

(3) **δ** and **n** share the same distinction of paragraphs
e.g., ... ἐτελεύτησε;----------§ λόγον αὐτοῦ ...; ... ἀπολιπὼν:- § πεφοβημένοι τε ... (**n** f.109, **δ** f. 79v)

(4) **δ** and **n** share identical punctuation and accents

(5) **δ** and **n** do not contain any marginalia apart from the extensive scholion at the end of Book VI in **n**

Proposition XI: ***n and δ are related closely to a and L, rather than to Ath***

(1) **n** and **δ** share a large number of readings with **a** and **L**:
e.g., p. 60, 24: σκευὴν **L, a, n, δ**] ἰσχὺν **Ath**
p. 68, 12: ἐπύθοντο **L, a, n, δ**] ἐπείθοντο **Ath**
p. 89, 6: εἴκοσι **Ath**] εἴκοσιν **L, a, n, δ**
p. 151, 20: βόθρου **L, a, n, δ**] θορύβου **Ath**
p. 154, 12: ἀμύνεσθαι **L, a, n, δ**] ἀμύνασθαι **Ath**
p. 163, 16: ἀναρριπτεῖν **L, a, n, δ** , ἀναρίπτειν **Ath**
p. 177, 25: διαλλάσσειν **L, a, n, δ**] διαλάσσειν **Ath**
p. 207, 26: ταῖς **L, a, n, δ**, τοὺς ταῖς **Ath**

Proposition XII: b, γ and k are transmitted from L and Ath through an intermediary tradition (ω)

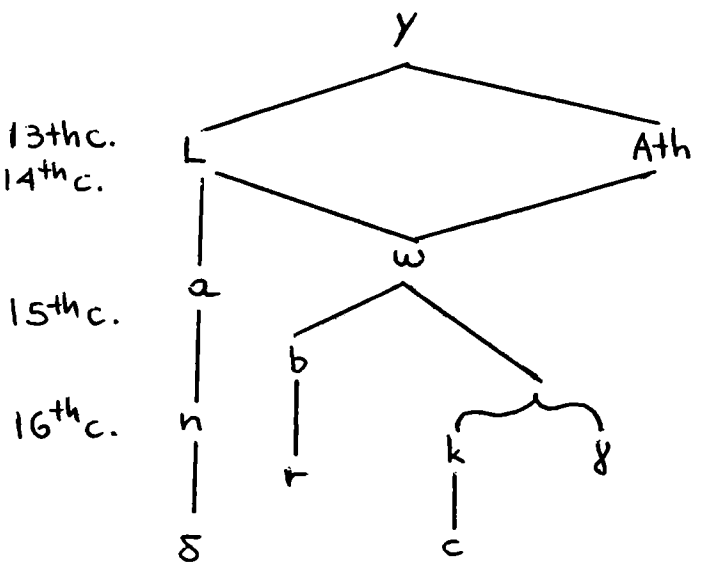
(1) **b, k** and **γ** share a large number of readings with **Ath** and **L** (see below, Appendix II, p. 174).

(2) **a, b, r, c, k** and **γ** share the marginal notes of **L** (see below, Appendix III, p. 175-6).

(3) **ω** represents the intermediary tradition between **L** and **Ath, b, k** and **γ**

(4) all manuscripts of the **y** family (**L, a, b, c, k, n** and **γ**) with the single exception of **Ath** contain the extensive scholion at the end of Book VI: ὅρα την βελισαρίου μεγαλοψυχίαν καὶ ἐλευθέριον γνώμην καὶ πίστιν πρὸς ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα, και ὅτι ἐν πέντε ἔτεσιν ἤνυσεν τὰ κατὰ ἰταλίας καὶ ἰουτίγιδος κατορθώματα.

Thus, on the basis of propositions I-XII the *stemma codicum* of family **y** of Procopius' *Wars*, Books V-VIII, can be reconstructed graphically as follows:



Chapter 4
Intellectual activity in the Palaeologan Period
(13th – 14th century)

The production of the earliest extant codices of Procopius' *Wars*, **Ath, L, K** and **V**, at the end of the thirteenth and in the fourteenth century would indicate a demand for manuscripts and an interest in early Byzantine historiographical texts. This reflects the continuation of classical learning in Byzantium, despite its fragmentation following the Latin occupation in 1204. The productivity and mobility of scribes and scholars of the time is indicative of the cultural and intellectual movement, which certain scholars refer to as "Palaeologan Renaissance".[188] This dynamic movement involved all aspects of artistic and scholarly activity and creativity, modelled on the ideals of classical antiquity. In the field of scholarship, the production of manuscripts containing both secular and religious authors of that period, as well as early Byzantine writers, reveals a serious interest in the exploration of the classical past and an awareness of the need to transmit the achievements of the Hellenic and Christian culture to the generations that followed.[189] These manuscripts, as in the past, were copied and studied in Byzantium by both churchmen and laymen scholars, teachers and their students. Their surviving autobiographies, correspondence and works reveal a strong awareness of their role as guardians of Greek *paideia*, and cast light

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[188] I. Sevcenco, "The Palaeologan Renaissance" in *Renaissances Before the Renaissance: Cultural Revivals of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. W. Treadgold (Stanford, 1984), p. 145, prefers the term 'Palaeologan Revival' and stresses the uninterrupted Hellenic tradition in Byzantium; see also his "Theodore Metochites, the Chora and the Intellectual Trends of his Time" in *Kariye Djami*, ed. P.A. Underwood, vol. 4 (New York, 1975) 19. For a similar view, see J. Meyendorff "Spiritual Trends in Byzantium in the Later Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries" in *Kariye Djami*, ed. P.A. Underwood, vol. 4 (New York, 1975) 100. V. Laurdas, *Η κλασσική φιλολογία εις την Θεσσαλονίκην κατά τον δέκατον τέταρτον αιώνα*, Εταιρεία Μακεδονικών Σπουδών, 37 (Thessaloniki, 1960), suggested the use of this term to stress the emergence of the Hellenic national identity of the Byzantines at that period.

[189] Cf. the contribution of Beck, H-G, "Uberlieferungsgeschichte der byzantinischen Literature" in *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur*, eds. H. Hunger. et alii, (Zurich, 1961) vol. I, pp. 423-70.

on their copious efforts to preserve the ancient texts by collecting manuscripts, studying and copying them. Their scholarly interest in secular literature included historiographical works.[190]

The survival of this tradition was made possible through a series of distinguished scholars and teachers of the early thirteenth century, based mainly in Nicaea. The new development is that higher education which since the twelfth century had been mainly under the aegis of the Patriarch now comes under the protection of the Emperor with the result that secular education was given greater attention. Therefore, teaching, especially higher education, required the re-establishment of schools, like those of Karykes, Hexapterygos, Blemmydes, Babouskomides and the court school of St Tryphon,[191] and the re-edition of texts and the compilation of new textbooks.[192] Among these scholars and teachers, Nicephorus Blemmydes (1197-1272) played a prominent role in copying, studying and teaching classical Greek philosophical and scientific works, at the same time compiling a number of useful textbooks for his students. His *Autobiography* is an invaluable source of information on his own studies.[193] Following the standard Byzantine curriculum, Blemmydes received his early education, which comprised grammar (in Prousa under Monasteriotes),[194] before he pursued his *enkyklios paideia* in the capital city of the exiled Byzantine court, and then his higher education in the Latin-controlled area of Skamandros under his teacher Prodromos.[195] His higher studies, which he completed at Nympaion[196] comprised mathematics, geometry, logic and physics.[197] In his effort to collect manuscripts, he visited several places in the islands and the Greek mainland: Lesbos,[198] Rhodes, Mount of Artamytion,[199] Samos,[200] and finally Mount Athos, where he spent some time in the large

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[190] It should be noted that classical historical works are preserved also in earlier extant manuscripts, for example the tenth-century codd. *Laur. gr.* 70,3 (Herodotus), *Laur.* 69,2 (Thucydides); the eleventh-century codd. *Vat. gr.* 2369 (Herodotus), *Vat. gr.* 126, *Brit. Mus.* 11727, *Monac.* 430 (Thucydides); and the twelfth-century cod. *Paris. suppl. gr.* 255 (Thucydides).

[191] Generally, see C. Constantinides, *Higher Education in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries (1204-c. 1310)* (Nicosia, 1982), pp. 5-27.

[192] See N.G. Wilson, "The Libraries in the Byzantine World" *GRBS* 8 (1967), 57.

[193] *Nicephori Blemmydae Autobiographia, sive, Curriculum Vitae*, CCSG 13, ed. J.A. Munitiz (Leuven, 1984), hereafter Blemmydes, *Autobiography*; J.A. Munitiz, *Nikephoros Blemmydes, A Partial Account, Translation with introduction and notes*, Specilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, Etudes et documents, 48 (Leuven, 1988).

[194] Blemmydes, *Autobiography*, I. 3, 1-14.

[195] Ibid., I. 4, 1-6.

[196] Ibid., I. 9, 6 – 10, 13.

[197] Ibid., I. 6, 1 – 9, 5.

[198] Ibid., I. 35, 11-12.

[199] Ibid., II. 20 -24.

[200] Ibid., I. 57, 9-10.

monastic libraries studying "vast quantities of books".[201] He also visited Thessaloniki, where he studied "intensively their similar stock",[202] before pursuing further his quest for manuscripts to the region around Larissa and beyond.[203] There must be a link between the efforts of Emperor John Batazes III (1222-1254) to provide schools and libraries with all necessary books, and this great investigatory tour of Blemmydes in 1239; although nothing is stated by Blemmydes in his *Autobiography*, he is likely to have made the tour to help with this effort.

Blemmydes enjoyed a wide range of interests including astronomy, physics, philosophy, geography and theology.[204] The texts he studied comprised mainly Aristotle and his Neoplatonic commentators, as well as Cleomydes and Dionysios Periegetes, whom he used for his textbooks in his school.[205] His contribution to the theological discussions on the Holy Trinity and the Procession of the Holy Spirit, between the Greek Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Churches at the time, is also very substantial.[206]

Following the recovery of Constantinople and the restoration of the Empire, the Higher Imperial School and the Patriarchal school[207] were re-established as the centres of education, whose aim was to provide the State and the Church with learned and capable officials and churchmen. At the same time monastic and private libraries were re-founded in Constantinople, which became a centre for the study and copying of manuscripts. For this purpose scribes and scholars travelled frequently to the City, in order to purchase or copy works which they could not find in their native lands.[208]

George Akropolites (1217-1282), a high imperial official and major intellectual figure of the times, was appointed head of the re-established School of Philosophy, proving himself a very successful teacher. According to his student George of Cyprus, Akropolites attracted many students, on

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[201] Ibid., I. 63, 4-6.
[202] Ibid., I. 63, 6-7.
[203] Ibid., I. 63, 7-10.
[204] In this order in his *Autobiography*, II. 75 –76.
[205] See Constantinides, *Higher education*, p. 24.
[206] For Blemmydes' religious attitude, see Munitiz, *A Partial Account*, pp. 38-42. Cf. PG 142, cols. 533-84; V. Grumel, "Nicéphore Blemmyde et la procession du Saint-Esprit", *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologique* 18 (1929), 636-56; P. Canart, "Nicéphore Blemmyde et la mémoire addressée aux envoyés de Grégoire IX (Nicée, 1234)", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 25 (1959), 310-25.
[207] *La tradition manuscrite de la correspondance de Grégoire de Chypre, patriarche de Constantinople (1283-1289)*, ed. W. Lameere (Brussels-Rome, 1937), hereafter George of Cyprus, *Autobiography*, p. 185, 7-13; *Constantine Akropolites*, *Διαθήκη*, ed. M. Treu, *ΔIEEE* 4 (1892), 48.
[208] See C. Constantinides, "The Scholars and their Books in the Late Thirteenth Century", *JÖB* 32 (1982), 13-21, 18.

account of his erudition.[209] Unfortunately, with the exception of his *Chronicle*,[210] a precise and reliable account of the Empire of Nicaea with echoes of Lucian's *How to write history*, and some theological works, most of Akropolites' works do not survive. His legacy is felt through his distinguished student, George of Cyprus, and his son, Constantine Akropolites.

George of Cyprus (1240-1290), later Patriarch Gregory II (1283-89),[211] was born in Cyprus, which at the time was ruled by the Lusignians. His family, which was originally wealthy, had lost its property after the colonisation following the Frankish conquest. George received his early education at the local school, before he moved to Nicosia to pursue higher studies. The difficulty he faced in learning Greek grammar, which was due to the lack of Greek teachers, and the fact that he was unable to master the Latin language, forced him to leave Cyprus.[212] Travelling to Palestine and via Anaea to Ephesos, he tried to visit Blemmydes, who taught in his own monastery on a mountain near the city. Discouraged by Blemmydes' students, George left for Nicaea. Unable to find teachers who would teach him philosophy, rhetoric and other subjects, apart from grammar and poetry, he moved to the recently restored city of Constantinople, and became a student of Akropolites, who had just been appointed to the chair of philosophy. George was able at last to fulfil his lifelong desire to study philosophy and mathematics. His studies comprised Aristotle's logic, Euclid's geometry and Nicomachos' arithmetic.[213] Rhetoric was one of the fields in which he persevered and finally excelled, earning the admiration of his contemporaries. His familiarity with classical texts is reflected in his numerous references to Homer,[214] Sophocles[215] and Demosthenes,[216] who were the main authors studied by Byzantine students. Like Akropolites, George of Cyprus proved a very successful teacher. His teaching career started in the Monastery of Akataleptos, where he resided as a monk. It remains uncertain whether he later took over the position of his teacher at the School of Philosophy. George taught grammar, poetry, rhetoric, dialectics

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[209] George of Cyprus, *Autobiography*, p. 185, 17-18: συνέρρεον πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ ὀλίγοι, ἔρωτι παιδείας ἑλκόμενοι

[210] *Georgii Akropolitae Opera*, ed. A. Heisenberg (Teubner : Stuttgart, 1978), *History*, vol. I.

[211] An important recent study on George of Cyprus is I. Perez Martin, *El patriarcha Gregorio de Chipre (ca. 1240-1290) y la transmission de los textes clasicos en Bisanzio* (Madrid, 1996).

[212] George of Cyprus, *Autobiography*, p. 177, 12 - 181, 11.

[213] George of Cyprus, *Autobiography*, p. 185, 12-24.

[214] *Γρηγορίου τοῦ Κυπρίου οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ μύθοι*, ed. S. Eustratiades (Alexandria, 1910) and also in *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος* 1-5 (1908-10), (hereafter George of Cyprus, *Letters*), no. 58 and 80.

[215] Ibid., no. 65.

[216] Ibid., no. 65.

and geometry and most probably arithmetic, analytics and Aristotelian philosophy.[217] Most of his surviving works were compiled for his students. His collection of proverbs,[218] a collection of seventeen mythological tales and paraphrases of the Fables of Aesop, an encomium of the sea (ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν)[219] and three declamations in the tradition of Libanius and Aphthonius,[220] were all used as textbooks. His correspondence with his students, scribes and other members of the higher intellectual circles, gives valuable information about the codices he copied and owned, including manuscripts with works by Plato,[221] Aelius Aristides,[222] Demosthenes and other orators.[223] Lack of money, the scarcity of manuscripts and his passion for books[224] compelled him to copy texts by his own hand, which sometimes was very painful to him as he suffered with his eyes. His activity as a copyist is reflected in his letters. He often asks his friends to lend him or return books to him, for both copying and studying,[225] as well as restoring them.[226] From his letters, it is clear that he was often unable to purchase writing material, especially paper (χάρτης), which was in short supply and costly.[227]

His teaching activities ceased once he ascended the Patriarchal throne of Constantinople in March 1283, during a period of ecclesiastical

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[217] Ibid., nos. 17, 28, 35, 44, 47, 75.

[218] PG 142, cols 445-470 (*Proverbiorum collectio*).

[219] PG 142, cols. 433-444 (*Encomium maris*).

[220] The three exercises were edited in the PG 142, cols. 299-418: *Laudatio S. Georgii; Laudatio Michaelis Palaeologi; Laudatio Andronici Palaeologi.*

[221] George of Cyprus, *Letters*, no. 14 and 28.

[222] Ibid., nos 26, 38, 75.

[223] Ibid., no. 97.

[224] George of Cyprus, *Autobiography*, p. 187, 14 – 189, 24. He calls himself a bibliophile (φιλόβιβλος) also in his letter no. 9.

[225] George of Cyprus, *Letters*, no. 58 to Skoutariotes: βιβλίον εἰληφὼς παρὰ σοῦς καὶ ἀποδιδοὺς, ἐπειδὴ ἀποδίδωμι, ἕτερον ἀντ ' αὐτοῦ αἰτοῦμαι λαβεῖν; no. 59 to Neokaisareites: ὑπεσχημένος ἀποστεῖλαι τὴν βίβλον ἀπέστειλας οὐδαμῶς; no. 62 to Neokaisareites: καὶ γράφοντες ἀξιοῦμεν πέμπειν τὸ βιβλίον.

[226] George of Cyprus, *Letters*, no. 187 to Raoulaina: Το δὲ βιβλίον, τὸν Δημοσθένην, ἐπισκήπτειν τῷ γράφειν ἐπιτάττεις, ἄστικτον τηρεῖν διόλου καὶ ἀκηλίδωτον· ἔσται γε οὕτω καὶ ἐπισκήψομεν· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν ὁ τοῦ μεταγράφειν ἐνσταίη καιρὸς, νυνί δὲ οὐκ ἐνέστηκεν, ὅτι μηδὲ ἔαρ ἔτι, οὐδὲ κρεωφαγοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι οὐδὲ δέρρεις προβάτων εἰς γραμμάτων ὑποδοχὴν· ἐσεῖται δὲ ὅμως ταῦτα μετὰ μικρὸν καὶ τότε καὶ γράφειν ἐπιβαλοῦμεν ἄφθονα τὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ἔχοντες ὑποκείμενα, τότε καὶ τῷ γραφεῖ Μελιτᾷ οἷον ἐπιτάττεις τὸ βιβλίον συντηρεῖν ἐπιτάξομεν.

[227] George of Cyprus, *Letters*, no. 39 to his student Constantine Akropolites: χάρτης οὐκ ἔστι μοι, καὶ δεῆσαν γράφειν, καθ' οὐ γράφειν οὐκ ἔχω. Εἰ τοίνυν σοι μέλει καμέ τι γράφειν, ὅπως ἡμῖν καὶ χάρτης τὸ μόνον γραμμάτων ὑποκείμενον γένηται φρόντισον; no. 105 to John Fakrasis: Βαμβακίνας ἐκ μόνης θατέρας τῶν ἐπιφανειῶν γεγραμμένων πέπεισμαι οἰκοι σοι παρερρίφθαι πολλὰς. Αἱ δὲ σοὶ μὲν εἰς οὐδὲν χρήσιμαι ... ἐμοὶ δ' εἰ πέμψεις, μεγάλην μὲν πληρώσαιεν τὴν χρείαν, μείζονα δὲ καὶ σὺ δι' αὐτῶν τὴν χάριν ἀποίσεις. Cf. N.G. Wilson, "Books and readers in Byzantium", in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen*, ed. J.J. Augustin (New York, 1975).

and political upheaval. His students, especially Maximos Planudes and Constantine Akropolites, continued his work, dominating the Byzantine intellectual scene in the decades that followed.

Maximos Planudes (ca. 1255-1305) became one of the greatest intellectual figures of the period.[228] It has been recognized that his "width of interests is much greater than that of most Byzantine scholars".[229] Abandoning the prospects of a successful career in the civil service, Maximos preferred to dedicate his life to scholarship within the confines of a monastic life at the Chora Monastery, relocating to the Akataleptos Monastery sometime before 1301. His teaching interests are reflected in the surviving textbooks he wrote for his students. He composed a dialogue on Grammar (Γραμματικῆς διάλογος), a textbook on syntax (περὶ τῆς συντάξεως καὶ τῶν τοῦ λόγου μερῶν),[230] another on transitive and intransitive verbs,[231] and a brief dictionary of Attic expressions (Αττικισμοί),[232] comprising citations and parallel passages from classical, Hellenistic and early Byzantine authors, including Sophocles, Aeschylus, Theophrastus, Philostratus and John Lydus.

Like his teacher, Planudes was a bibliophile, collector, copyist and restorer of manuscripts. He used to borrow and lend books to friends and other fellow scholars,[233] and was an expert binder of manuscripts.[234] One of the beneficiaries of his craft was the *protovestiarios* George Mouzalon, for whom Planudes bound a number of mathematical treatises in a single volume.[235] From his correspondence, we also learn about his scribal activity. As in the case of his teacher, writing material must have been in short supply, as is evident in his request for parchment (μεμβράνη) from Philanthropenos[236] and Melchisedek Akropolites.[237] Planudes was also interested in the organisation and enrichment of libraries. For example, in his letter to Mouzalon he mentions a list of manuscripts, which the library of the

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[228] H. Diller, "Codices Planudei", *BZ* (1937), 295 characterises Planudes as "the leader of the literary renaissance under the Palaeologi".
[229] N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London, 1996), p. 230.
[230] *Anecdota Graeca II*, ed. L. Bachman (Leipzig, 1828).
[231] *De emendatio ratione graecae grammaticae*, ed. E. Herman (Leipzig, 1801).
[232] *Anecdota Graeca I*, ed. J-F. Boissonade (Paris, 1829).
[233] *Maximi Planudis Monachi Epistulae*, ed. M. Treu (Breslau, 1890; rpr. Amsterdam, 1960) (hereafter Planudes, *Letters*), no. 28 to Xanthopoulos, no. 106 to Philanthropenos.
[234] Ibid., no. 67, 41-42: τοῦτο γὰρ τῆς ἐμῆς τέχνης τὸ ἰδιαίτατον.
[235] Ibid., no. 67, 106-111: ... εἰς ἕνα τεῦχος ἅπαντα συναφθέντα.
[236] Ibid., no. 106, 35-43. Cf. A. Laiou, "Some Observations on Alexios Philanthropenos and Maximos Planudes" *BMGS* 4 (1978), 89-99.
[237] Planudes, *Letters*, no. 100, 3-25.

"Imperial Monastery" ought to contain,[238] and asks his addressee for money in order to re-organise the "Imperial Library".[239]

Undoubtedly, Planudes played a prominent role in the preservation of classical and Hellenistic Greek and Latin literature. This is attested in the numerous manuscripts transmitting the "Planudean recension".[240] One of his most important contributions is his *Anthology of Epigrams (Anthologia Planudea)*,[241] consisting of classical and Hellenistic epigrams. Having made his collection he later incorporated other material as a supplement, which is preserved in an autograph codex (*Marc. gr. 481*) completed in 1301, which includes also Nonnos of Panopolis' *Metaphrasis of the Gospel according to John*. The text of the epigrams bears Planudes' emendations, which were used as a supplementary source by modern editors, for it not only offers superior readings, but also contains about four hundred epigrams, which are not part of the *Anthologia Palatina*. It should be noted that until the seventeenth century, the Planudean *Anthology* remained the only known collection of epigrams and minor poetry of classical and Byzantine Greek authors, until the discovery of the mid-tenth-century *Anthologia Palatina* (as called after the principal extant manuscript *Palatinus graecus* 23).[242]

Planudes' hand has been identified also in a number of manuscripts containing works from Apollonius, Hesiod, Oppian, Tryphiodorus and Theocritus, Ptolemy's *Geography*[243] and Plutarch's complete moral works.[244] These manuscripts and several others were produced by a circle of scribes and students under the direction of Planudes. Ten hands, for example, including Maximos', contributed to the production of codex *Ambrosianus*

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[238] Ibid., no. 67, 69-70 to Mouzalon.

[239] Ibid., no. 67. For the attempt of the Emperor to enrich the Imperial Library after the recapture of Constantinople, see C. Wendel, "Die erste Kaiserliche Bibliothek in Konstantinopel", *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde* 59 (1942), 193ff; R. Browning, "Recentiores non deteriores", *BICS* (1960), 12; C. Mango, "The availability of books in the Byzantine Empire, 750-850AD", in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen*, pp. 33-34.

[240] Most information about the Planudean manuscripts is found in H. Diller "Codices Planudei" *BZ* 37 (1937), 295-301, on which E.B. Fryde, *The Early Palaeologan Renaissance* (Leiden, 2000) and Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* are based.

[241] It is preserved in various versions in codd. *Paris. gr.* 2722, *Vat. gr.* 915, *Brit. Mus. Add.* 16409 and *Laur.* 32.2. Cf. Planudes, *Letters*, no. 28 where he is trying to persuade Theodore Xanthopoulos to send him τὴν τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων βίβλον, using examples from Homer, Herodotus and Thucydides concerning πειθώ.

[242] See Alan Cameron, *The Greek Anthology from Meleager to Planudes* (Oxford, 1993), esp. pp. 97-120.

[243] Cf. S. Kougeas, "Analecta Planudea", *BZ* 18 (1909), 115-18; H. Diller, "The Oldest Manuscripts of Ptolemaic Maps", *TAPA* 71 (1940), 62-67.

[244] Planudes, *Letters*, no. 106, 36-45: ἐμοὶ δ' ἔδοξε τὰ τοῦ Πλουτάρχου γράψαι βιβλία. πάνυ γάρ, ὡς οἶσθα, τὸν ἄνδρα φιλῶ... Cf. M. Manfredini, "Il Plutarco di Planude", *Studi Classici e Orientali* 42 (1992), 123-125; N.G. Wilson, "Maximus Planudes and a Famous Codex of Plutarch" *GRBS* 16 (1975), 95-99.

C126 inf. containing Plutarch's *Moralia* and the *Lives* of Galba and Otto.[245] Another subject in which Planudes showed great interest was music and harmonics. All existing works on these subjects were collected by him in a single volume, to be used for teaching purposes at his school.[246]

One of the most important sources of information on Planudes' readings is his collection of excerpts entitled Συναγωγή συλλεγεῖσα ἀπὸ διαφόρων βιβλίων παρὰ τοῦ σοφωτάτου και λογιωτάτου καὶ τιμιωτάτου ἐν μοναχοῖς κυροῦ Μαξίμου τοῦ Πλανούδη πάνυ ὠφέλιμος (*Vat. Palat. gr.* 141).[247] The full text of the excerpts survives in five manuscripts dated from the late thirteenth to the late fifteenth century, and it has been suggested that *Laurentianus* 59.30 was Planudes' master-copy.[248] Most probably used as a school textbook, it contains an inventory of historical, scientific and religious works.[249] Planudes' serious interest in geography is reflected by his selection of long excerpts of Strabo's *Geography* and Pausanias' *Description of Greece*. His excerpts from Pausanias are of great value, for they represent an earlier tradition than the full text in the principal extant codices.[250] A large part of the same collection comprises excerpts from Plato's dialogues. The collection also includes excerpts from Pseudo-Aristotle's *De Mundo*, Synesius and Christian authors, especially Gregory of Nazianzus. It is important to note that the content of the excerpts from Gregory of Nanzianzus focus on the use of Hellenic *paideia* in the service of Christianity, which is indicative of Planudes' attitude to the classical past and the teaching of these texts.[251] In general, his selection of excerpts indicate that the collection was especially compiled for

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[245] See, A. Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Italy* (Urbana-Chicago-London, 1972), pp. 81-7.

[246] This collection does not survive, but we know of its existence from Planudes, *Letters*, nos. 68, 25-8 and 46-8.

[247] For a description of this codex, see C. Pitra – H. Stevenson, *Codices manuscripti palatini graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Rome, 1885), pp. 71-73. On this collection, see E. Piccolomini, "Intorno ai collectanea di Massimo Planude", *Rivista di Filologia* 2 (1874) 101-117, 149-163.

[248] H. Diller, *Studies in the Greek Manuscript Tradition* (Amsterdam, 1983), p. 343.

[249] Diller, *Studies* comments on the intelligent handling of the work by Planudes explaining that "he omits, compresses, smoothes over and rounds off the text", perhaps in an attempt to transform it into a manageable textbook. This may prove the purpose of the collection as an educational tool.

[250] Diller, *Studies*, p. 344: "the archetype was probably Planudes' codex".

[251] They are listed in A.M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum mauscriptorum Bibliothecae Medicae Laurentianae* II (Florence, 1770), col. 145. Fryde, *Palaeologan Rennaisance*, believes that Planudes possibly began his selection with an autobiographical poem of Gregory in which he spoke about his "love for the glory of literature which had been assembled by the East and the West at Athens, the ornament of Hellas" (ed. Bandini, *Codices Bibliothecae Laurentianae*, cols. 143-145).

use in schools, aiming at teaching students their classical heritage, including history, geography, science and religion of ancient Greece.[252]

More importantly, a significant section of Planudes' collection consists of excerpts from historiographical sources, which reflects an interest in Roman and early Byzantine history. These excerpts derive from Byzantine compilations and Byzantine historians. The first forty-four excerpts derive from the seventh-century *Chronicle* by John of Antioch; Planudes cites the part that covers the period between the eighth century B.C. and the last decades before the end of the Roman Republic. Planudes' interest seems to have lain in examples of ancient Roman virtues and also in comparing Greek and Latin institutions. The major part of Planudes' historical excerpts comprises the *Epitome* of Dio Cassius' *Roman History* compiled in 1070 by John Xifilinus. A small part of Planudes' historical excerpts is of uncertain provenance. Some were probably derived from the verse *Chronicle*, which covers the years from the creation of the world to 1080, composed in 1150 by Constantine Manasses.[253] An important part of Planudes' collection consists of excerpts from John Lydus' (ca. 490-565)[254] *De mensibus*.[255] The name of the author appears in the margin of three of Planudes' own manuscripts, which contain almost the whole text except the beginning and the end. The importance of Planudes' excerpts rests in the fact that it preserves a section of the work that has not survived elsewhere. The text provides unique information about the pagan Roman calendar and festivities, information which may have been useful also to his students.[256] Planudes' interest in pagan culture is reflected also in his autograph manuscript *Laurentianus* 32,16, containing a selection of thirteen oracles by the Neoplatonist Porphyry, deriving from the early sixth-century *Theosophia*.[257]

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[252] Cf. W. Jaeger, *Early Christianity and Paideia* (Cambridge, 1961), pp. 78-9; N. G. Wilson, "The Church and Classical Studies in Byzantium", *Antike und Abendland* 16 (1970), 70.

[253] See S. Kougeas "Zu den historischen Excerpten des Planudes" *BZ* 18 (1909), 126-46 where the scholar refers to the excerpts from John of Antioch, Xifilinus and Manasses.

[254] John Lydus entered the imperial service in Constantinople in 511 and he was a Christian, but like others of his learned contemporaries such as Procopius, he looked back to the glories of the Roman past. Perhaps in 543 he was given a professorship at the University of Constantinople, being permitted to combine this with work in the prefecture until retirement.

[255] *Ioannis Lydi Liber de Mensibus*, ed. R. Wuensch (Teubner: Stuttgart, 1968).

[256] See M. Maas, *John Lydus and the Roman Past: Antiquarianism and Politics in the Age of Justinian* (New York, 1992). There is no comment in modern studies about the possible use of this manuscript by Planudes. Both Fryde, *Palaeologan Renaissance*, p. 253 and Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, p. 234, mention this information without any further explanation, except to say that the Planudean excerpts are an important source for the reconstruction of the text. See Diller, *Studies*, pp. 299-300.

[257] *Fragmente griechischer Theosophien*, ed. H. Erbse (Hamburg, 1941).

Planudes excerpted from the work the oracles possibly of relevance to Christians.[258]

Apart from his interest in Roman and early Byzantine historiographical works, Planudes was also interested in classical historiography. Two manuscripts[259] of Thucydides' *History*, bearing Planudes' annotations, are preserved: *Monacensis gr.* 430 and *Kassel. Hist.* fol. 3. As in the case of other manuscripts that he owned, these two codices were most probably used as textbooks for his students.

Another field in which Planudes excelled was his translations of Latin works into Greek.[260] His command of the Latin language is reflected in the translations of the numerous Latin Fathers and secular authors: Augustine, Pseudo-Cyprian, Cato,[261] Ovid,[262] Cicero[263]and Boethius.[264]

Like his teacher, Gregory of Cyprus, Planudes was well aware of the need to produce works for later generations. In his letter to Theodora Raoulaina, the niece of Michael III, herself a scholar and a bibliophile, he states that καὶ δείξομεν καὶ κηρύξομεν τοῖς εἰσέπειτα, ὅτι μὴ παντάπασιν ἀργὸς μηδ' ἀμελέτητος ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς παρέφθαρται χρόνος, ἀλλ' ἔφυσαν κἀν τούτῳ τινές, οἷς τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς καλλίστων κληρονομοῦντες ἐκεῖνοι δίκαιοι ἂν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα γινώσκειν χάριτας εἶεν.[265]

The same interest and ideals were shared by his friend and fellow student Constantine Akropolites (1250-1324), the elder son of George Akropolites, whom he succeeded to the honorary titles of λογοθέτης τοῦ γενικοῦ and later on of μέγας λογοθέτης. In his letters Constantine speaks about his own studies,[266] acknowledging the inspiration and the

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[258] Alan Cameron, *The Greek Anthology*, describes the contents of codex *Laurentianus gr.* 32.16, which was compiled by Planudes between 1280-83 and he refers to the *Theosophia* (p. 211-212).

[259] *Monacensis gr.* 430 of the eleventh century; *Kassel. Hist.* f. 3, annotated by Planudes in 1302.

[260] Cf. E.A. Fisher, "Planudes and the 'New Literature' of the thirteenth century", Abstracts and Papers from the Second Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Nov. 1976 (Madison, 1976), pp. 37-39.

[261] *Disticha Catonis in Graecum translata: Maximus Planudes*, ed. V. Ortoleva (Rome, 1992).

[262] E.A. Fisher, *Planudes' Greek Translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses* (New York, 1990).

[263] *Maximus Planudes, M. Tullii Ciceronis Somnium Scipionis in Graecum translatum*, ed. A. Pavano (Roma, 1992).

[264] *Boèce, de la Consolation de la Philosophie, traduction qrecque de Maxime Planude*, ed. E-A. Betant (Geneva, 1871). Cf. Planudes, *Letters*, no. 5, 68-81.

[265] Ibid., no. 68, 75-79.

[266] Romano, R., *Constantino Acropolita Epistole* (Naples, 1991), hereafter Constantine Akropolites, *Letters*; Cf. H. Delehaye, "Constantini Acropolitae Hagiographi Byzantini Epistularum Manipulus", *Analecta Bollandiana* 51 (1933) 263-284.

encouragement he received from his father, as well as his generosity.[267] Himself also a bibliophile, it seems likely that he spent a large proportion of his father's endowment on the acquisition of books which were probably the most expensive element of one's studies. Though Constantine refers to his teachers, unfortunately he does not give their names. According to George Pachymeres,[268] Maximos Holobolos appears to have been Constantine's teacher while he received his *enkyklios paideia.* It has been suggested that the anonymous addressee of two of his letters[269] in which Constantine expresses his reverence to his teacher, is no other than Holobolos. His affection for Holobolos is also expressed in his letter 121.[270] Similarly, George Pachymeres, who was possibly the anomymous recipient of another letter of Constantine, acted as his teacher.[271] There is no doubt that Constantine was taught also by George of Cyprus. Their close relationship is evident in their correspondence.[272] Both scholars used to borrow and lend each other manuscripts, and sometimes they complained of the delay in receiving them back, as is the case in one of his letters to Constantine, in which George asks him to return his copy of Aelius Aristides, which his friend had kept for a long time.[273] We know from Constantine's letters that himself owned a private library, having inherited most of his books from his father.[274] Among his books, a copy of Plato's *Menon*, works of Democritus and Heraclitus,[275] Plotinus[276] and George Pisides' poems.[277] Constantine used

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[267] M. Treu, "Νέος κῶδιξ τῶν ἔργων τοῦ μεγάλου λογοθέτου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Ακροπολίτου" in *ΔΙΕΕΕ* 4 (1892) 35-50: δ' αὐ πρὸς τοῦ γεγεννηκότος καὶ καλῶς θρέψαντος καὶ παιδείας πᾶσης τό γε εἰς αὐτὸν ἧκον πλουσίως μεταδοκὸς... πλὴν ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς οὐχ ὅτι λογικὴν ἐκπληρωσάμην παιδείαν, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ χρυσὸν τε καὶ ἀργυρὸν προσειλήφειν.

[268] *Pachymeris Georgii, De Michaele Palaeologo*, PG 143, col. 729-30, §§ 282-83.

[269] (1) Constantine Akropolites, *Letters* no. 66: Θεσπέσιε μοι διδάσκαλε, πατέρα γὰρ καλέσαι βουλόμενος...ὡς μεμαθήκαμεν αἴτιος. Cf. Constantinides, *Higher education*, Appendix p. 164, Letter 66. (2) Constantine Akropolites, *Letters* no. 71: Τὸν λόγον πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον ὅτι καὶ ὀφειλόμενον ... φίλα μὲν γὰρ, οἶδα, τοῖς παιδευταῖς τὰ τῶν φοιτητῶν ἀγωνίσματα, ὅτι καὶ πατράσι τὰ τῶν τέκνων ψελλίσματα. Cf. Constantinides, *Higher Education*, Appendix, p. 165, Letter 71.

[270] Constantine Akropolites, *Letters* no. 121: 'Ολοβόλῳ τῷ πάνυ τῷ ἐμῷ πατρὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἐφ' ὑψηλοτέροις μαθήμασι τούτους οὕτω πενθεῖν οἶομαι.

[271] *Constantine Akropolites' Letters* no. 101; Cf. M. Treu, "Ein Kritiker des Timarion", *BZ* 1 (1892), 362, letter 14; Constantinides, *Higher Education*, Appendix pp. 165-166, Letter 101.

[272] For example, George of Cyprus, *Letters*, nos. 2, 38, 39, 183.

[273] George of Cyprus, *Letters*, no. 38.

[274] We learn from the letter no. 80 that a book, probably Plato, was requested by one of his students: Τὴν βίβλον, ἣν πρὸς τῆς σῆς ἀπῃτήθην σεβασμιότητος, ῥᾳδίως μὲν ἐκτησάμην. Πατρόθεν καὶ γὰρ σὺν συχναῖς ἑτέραις εἰς κλῆρον ἀπενεμήθη μοι ῥᾳδίως αὐτὴν τοῖς ἐθέλουσι χρᾶν.

[275] Constantine Akropolites, *Letters*, no. 59: Πλάτωνος ἦν ἡ βίβλος. Περὶ ἐπιστήμης ὁ λόγος;... δίκην γὰρ ἐπῄει μοι μελετῆσαι Δημοκρίτου καὶ Ἡρακλείτου Φιλοσοφίαν εἰς δικαστὴν προκαθίσαντι; Cf. Constantinides, *Higher education*, Appendix p. 161, Letter 59.

[276] *Constantine Akropolites' Letters* no. 95.

to keep his books in a box in a special room in his house,[278] while he had his own study in his house.[279]

His letters contain numerous allusions and references to Greek authors, including Hesiod,[280] Herodotus, Aeschylus,[281] Homer[282] and Aristotle,[283] which reflect his interest and training. Constantine, like most of his fellow-scholars, copied manuscripts for his own use.[284] In his letter to Iosef Rhakendytus, he requested an Epitome of the Aristotelian works to be sent from Thessaloniki, in order for him to be able to make a copy for his own library.[285] In another letter Constantine mentions an incomplete manuscript owned by his unknown addressee, which needed corrections.[286] Elsewhere, he asked his addressee to correct both his own mistakes and those made by the scribe in a personal volume containing his own works.[287]

At an early stage, Constantine became a teacher of rhetoric in which he distinguished himself. He composed a large number or works in both verse and prose, including *epigrammata*[288] and *encomia*[289] for Saints. It is this last genre in which he excelled himself earning the title of the "New Metaphrast". In addition, like George of Cyprus, Constantine composed *progymnasmata* for the teaching of rhetoric, comprising four fables,[290] a tale, a ψόγος, a comparison,[291] five ἠθοποιοίαι[292] and an ἔκφρασις.[293] Modelled on Aphthonios, these exercises are adjusted to the Christian context.[294]

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[277] Ibid., no. 78. He asked for a good text of Pisides to correct his own old copy.
[278] Ibid., no. 80.
[279] Ibid., no. 59.
[280] Ibid., nos. 30 and 178.
[281] Ibid., no. 189.
[282] Ibid., e.g., nos. 24, 25, 189.
[283] Ibid., e.g., nos. 31, 84, 99, 140.
[284] Ibid., no. 59: ... ὅλος ἐγενόμην τῆς ἀναγνώσεως. οὐκ ὀλίγων οὖν διελθὼν καὶ κόρον τούτου λαβών, πρὸς ἑτέραν ἐργασίαν ἐτράπην. χάρτην γὰρ καὶ μέλανα μεταχειρισάμενος, γράφειν παρωρμήθην και ἔγραφον.
[285] Ibid., no. 137.
[286] Ibid., no. 70: Ἔφην μὲν αὐτὸς ἐλλιπῆ τὴν βίβλον εἶναι... ἢ στεῖλον το βιβλίον εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν ἢ κόπου θελήσας ἀπαλλάξαι, αὐτὸς ἀναπλήρωσον.
[287] Ibid., no. 186: τὸ πυξίον αἰτῶ δίελθε. ἃ τέ μοι τῷ ἐκθεμένῳ καὶ ἃ τῷ μεταγεγραφότι ἔσφαλταί τε καὶ διήμαρται, γνοίης ἂν καὶ ἡμῖν γνωρίσας φροντίδος οὐ μικρᾶς ἀπαλλάξειας.
[288] E.g., *Epigramma contro Satana; Epigramma per l'immagine del Cristo detta Antiphonetes; Antifona per la Vergine*. Cf. Romano, *Constantine Akropolites' Letters*, pp. 18-19.
[289] E.g., *Encomio di s. Demetrio Megalomatrire; Encomio di Constantino il grande e s. Elena; Encomio di s. Neofito*. Cf. Romano, *Constantine Akropolites' Letters*, pp. 20-25.
[290] A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed., "Κωνσταντίνου Ἀκροπολίτου Μῦθοι", *ΔΙΕΕΕ* 3 (1891), 445-451.
[291] F. Fotopoulos, ed., "Ἀνέκδοτα Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Ἀκροπολίτου", *Νέα Σιών* 11 (1911), 862-869.
[292] R. Romano, "Etopee inedite di Constantino Acropolita", *Ταλαρίσκος. Studia Graeca A. Garzya sexagenario a discipulis oblata* (Naples, 1987), pp. 311-338.

A *Chronicle* from Aeneas to A.D. 1260/1, accompanied by notes concerning fourteenth-century Byzantine emperors added by a later hand (*Vindob. Hist. gr.* 99, ff. 15-35), has been attributed to Constantine on the basis of the title: τοῦ ἀκροπολίτου κυροῦ καὶ μεγάλου λογοθέτου. ἐπιτομὴ ἀρχῆς τῶν ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατείας κἀκ τίνος κατάγονται καὶ πῶς ῥωμαῖοι ἐκλήθησαν. In the absence of the name, however, the attribution of this short work to Constantine remains to be ascertained.[295]

Another important scholar of the time was Joseph Rhakendytes or Joseph the Philosopher (1280-1330).[296] He had been a monk in Thessaloniki before moving to Constantinople in 1307. Since then he belonged to a group of literati under Andronikos II, and among his friends and correspondents were Choumnos, Gregoras and Metochites. He had a wide range of concerns: philosophy, rhetoric, physics, mathematics, astronomy, theology and medicine. In 1324 he returned and lived on a mountain in Thessaloniki. Joseph Rhakendytes is known for his *Encyclopaedia*, a compendium of knowledge that included rhetorics, mathematics, music and theology. He also wrote hymns and prayers.

Only his rhetorical work, Σύνοψις Ῥητορικὴ has been edited.[297] It is a manual for writing rhetorical speeches or works, where he mentions examples from various 'fashionable' authors. In the third chapter called Περὶ τοῦ πανηγυρικοῦ εἴδους λόγος he refers to three kinds of speech mentioning examples from various authors: for the 'mixed' speeches, namely the rhetorical and philosophical ones, he mentions Gregory the Theologean, Themistius, Plutarch, Psellus, Synesius, Basil the Great; for the 'purely' rhetorical speeches he mentions Libanius, Aphthonius, Imerius, Lucian; for the last kind, ταῖς ἀφηγηματικαῖς ῥητορικαῖς ἐννοίαις, he mentions Heliodorus, Achilles Tatius, Philostratus, Xenophon and Procopius of Caesarea, adding that οὗτος (ὁ Προκόπιος) ἐν τε δημηγορίαις καὶ συμβουλαῖς ἔχει τι καὶ ἐναγώνιον καὶ ἐγκατάσκευον καὶ οὐχ ἁπλῶς ἀφηγηματικὸς ἐστίν.[298] Procopius as a rhetor is also mentioned by Joseph in the fourth chapter of the same book, Περὶ λέξεως. He refers to authors

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[293] F. Fotopoulos, ed., "Ἀνέκδοτα Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Ἀκροπολίτου", *Νέα Σιών* 12 (1912) 278-281.

[294] M. Treu, "*Ein Kritiker*", believes that Akropolites' high standard in and familiarity with classical Greek was an achievement which was not equalled by any other Byzantine author.

[295] A. Heinrich, ed., *Die Chronik des Johannes Sikeliota der Wiener Hofbibliothek* (Graz, 1982) pp. 10-15 (excerpts). Cf. D.M. Nicol, "Constantine Akropolites: A Prosopographical Note", *DOP* 19 (1965), 256.

[296] See M. Treu, "Der Philosoph Joseph", *BZ* 8 (1899) 1-64; R. Grisculo, "Note sull' 'Encyclopedia' del folosofo Giuseppe", *Byz* 44 (1974) 255-81.

[297] Ch. Walz, *Rhetores Graeci* (Stuttgart, 1834), vol. 3, pp. 467-569.

[298] Ibid, p. 521, 21-26.

who use ὀγγειρὰς λέξεις and to those who use ταπεινωτέρας λέξεις; he also refers to authors who mix these two kinds of words: καὶ νεωτέρους πολλοὺς, μεμιγμένοι δὲ κατὰ τὴν λέξιν καὶ μέσοι ὁ Θεμίστιος, ὁ Πλούταρχος, ὁ Νύσσης, ὁ Ἰώσηππος καὶ μᾶλλον ἐν τῇ ἁλώσει ὁ Λουκιανὸς, ἡ Χαρίκλεια, ὁ Καισαρεὺς Προκόπιος, ὁ Ψελλός.[299]

It is important then that Procopius of Caesarea is used during the beginning of the thirteenth century among other authors as an example for rhetorics in an important manual of the time, written most probably for educational purposes.

After 1261, when the Empire's role to preserve the Greco-Byzantine heritage and continuity became vital, an increase of the number of teachers and the foundation of more schools took place in Constantinople and in Thessaloniki, which rivalled the Byzantine capital in its intellectual vigour.[300] Thomas Magistros (ca. 1275-1347),[301] a student of Maximus Planudes, is one of the most important figures in the intellectual life of his native city of Thessaloniki at the time. After his studies, Magistros became a monk under the name of Theodoulos and spent his entire life in Thessaloniki, though very little is known about it. He produced a *Collection of Attic Names and Verbs*, designed to guide the prose writer in the choice of his vocabulary. In composing his work, he used a very wide range of earlier lexica and added numerous citations from leading Greek writers. The index of quotations in his lexicon reveals that Thomas' tastes favoured Thucydides, as well as authors of the second sophistic age, which is well represented with Aristides, Lucian, Libanius and Synesius. The only patristic writer cited in the lexicon is Gregory of Nazianzus.

Magistros' works also comprised an edition of Pindar, political treatises, various versions of commentaries on standard texts and especially on Sophocles, Aeschylus, Euripides and Aristophanes. Between 1314 and 1318 he travelled to Constantinople on an embassy to Andronikos II. There he delivered an oration before the Emperor, on behalf of the general Chadrenos who had defended Thessaloniki against the Catalans, Turks and Serbs. His political treatises, entitled Περὶ Βασιλείας and Περὶ Πολιτείας, modelled on Demosthenes and Aristides, deal with the duties of the Emperor and his subjects respectively.[302] It is clear that the classical

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[299] Ibid, p. 526, 21-25.

[300] On this, see A. Vakalopoulos, *The History of Thessaloniki* (Thessaloniki,1963), p. 51; O. Tafrali, *Thessalonique au XIVe siècle* (Paris, 1913), p. 150.

[301] For Magistros, see Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, pp. 247-249; Fryde, *Early Palaeologan Renaissance*, pp. 299-301; *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, eds. A.P. Kazhdan et al., cols 2076-7.

[302] Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, believes that Magistros emerges as "well acquainted with the works of Aristides, but was unable to understand him satisfactorily".

tragedians, Thucydides and the authors of the second sophistic period impressed Magistros, though his interest seems to have been mainly philological rather than on the content of the works itself. This reflects the general phenomenon of mimesis, imitating the style of classical authors, which pervades the Byzantine literary world.

Among Planudes' students the most distinguished was Demetrios Triklinios (ca. 1280-1340).[303] His major contribution to the preservation and study of the Sophoclean, Euripidean and Aeschylean tradition surpassed that of his own teacher and probably of all his contemporary scholars active in Constantinople.[304] Triklinios was born and based in Thessaloniki. The majority of his extant works comprise editions of Greek poetry, plays and rhetorical works, which he fully annotated applying techniques of textual criticism, making use of more than one manuscript for his critical text. Following Planudes' tradition, Triklinios dedicated the major part of his work primarily to teaching purposes.

It has been pointed out that Triklinios' handling of the text of the Greek dramatists shows that, unlike his fellow student Magistros, his own editions went beyond the immediate needs of a school reading list. His main aim was to produce complete editions of the extant tragedies. In addition, apart from the standard cannon of comedies of Aristophanes taught in schools, which comprised *Clouds, Frogs* and *Wealth*, Triklinios proceeded editing and annotating five more of Aristophanes' comedies, *Acharnians, Wasps, Knights, Birds, Peace*.[305] The numerous metrical improvements he introduced produced a text of "fairly good quality."[306] There is no doubt that Triklinios' influence in the Byzantine manuscript tradition and commentaries of the Greek plays was substantial. Apart from the quality of his editions, his major contribution is his preparation of new recensions of ancient Greek tragedies and comedies, especially those that did not form part of the standard curriculum at the time.[307]

From his surviving works it seems that Triklinios was interested mainly in Greek poetry. His love and understanding of Greek verse and metre is reflected also in his revision of the Planudean *Anthology of*

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[303] For Triklinios, see Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, pp. 249-256; Fryde, *Early Palaeologan Renaissance*, pp. 268-290; *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, eds. A.P. Kazhdan et al., cols 2116-2117.

[304] Cf. N.G. Wilson, "Planudes and Triklinios", *GRBS* 19 (1978), 389-94.

[305] The three surviving ones, *Thesmophoriazusae, Ecclesiazusae* and *Lysistrata*, which he did not include, were probably unknown to him.

[306] The merits used to be attributed to his student Musurus, but after the discovery of codex *Holkham gr.* 88, a copy of the Triclinian edition of the eight Aristophanic plays, written about a century after Triklinius' death, Triklinius deserves the credit for all improvement to the text. See, N.G. Wilson, "The Triklinian edition of Aristophanes", *CQ* 12 (1962), 32-47.

[307] Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, p. 250.

Epigrams, for which he possibly had to travel to Constantinople to access the manuscripts he required, and his edition of Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Works and Days*, Theocritus' *Idylls* and Pindar's *Odes*. In this latter edition, Triklinios displayed his profound knowledge of metre, on which he composed an introductory note preceding each of the *Odes*.

Influenced by his teacher, Triklinios developed an additional interest in astronomy and geography. It is interesting that certain codices from Planudes' library came at some stage into the possession of Triklinios. From the notes that appear in some astronomical and geographical manuscripts, it is evident that both teacher and student studied thoroughly and annotated these texts, as in the *Phaenomena* of Aratus, in which they shared a great interest. His legacy was followed by his pupils and later scholars, such as John Catraris (ca.1500-), who is known as a copyist of several classical texts and Marcus Musurus (1470-1517), who was the leading figure in the circle of Aldus Manutius, many of whom not only followed his editorial techniques but also imitated his calligraphic hand.

The production of new historiographical works and the study of the Greek and Roman historiographical tradition of the past by Palaeologan scholars, teachers and students are amply attested. It seems that the study of the classical, Hellenistic and early Byzantine historians and chroniclers emanated both from a genuine interest in history, but also from the need to use these texts for their philological aspect, both as textbooks and private reading. For example, codex *Basileensis* E.III.4,[308] of the fourteenth century, contains Thucydides' *History*. This codex belonged to Giovanni Tortelli (ca. 1400-1466), who travelled to Constantinople in 1435 to learn Greek under John Eugenikos (1380-1453). He stayed there for two years. On f. 247v a note by the hand of Tortelli states that the codex was presented to him by his teacher John Eugenikos on 3 July 1435, two months after he started his lessons.[309] The text, which Eugenikos chose for his student, shows his intention of instructing him using a model of Attic language and style and at the same time to introduce him to one of the greatest classical historical works. This manuscript was copied and bound in the Monastery of Prodromos Petra in Constantinople. Similarly, codex *Laurentianus* 69.16,

[308] See a description of this codex in H. Omont, *Catalogue des manuscripts grecs des Bibliothèques de Suisse* (Leipzig, 1886), no. 79, p. 33.

[309] "Liber Johannis Aretini datus sibi dono a magistro suo papa Johanne Eugenico in Constantinopoli, die III[a] mensis Julii, anno Domini M[o]CCCC[o]XXXV[o], secundo scilicet mense quo studiorum causa compatriota et fratre meo Laurentino". Cf. A. Cataldi-Palau, "Legature constantinopolitane del monastero di Prodromo Petra tra I manoscritti Giovanni di Ragusa (+1443)", *Codices Manuscripti* 37/38 (2001) 11-50, pp. 16 and 19 with n. 55.

also of the fourteenth century, contains Thucydides' *History*.[310] So far, nothing is known about its provenance.

Other classical historians are preserved in a number of fifteenth-century manuscripts: *Vaticanus Chis.* R.VI.41, copied by George Chrysokokkes (ca. 1355 -) in October 1424, contains Xenophon's *Kyrou Paideia*.[311] Cod. *Ambrosianus* C 82 sup., copied possibly by George Baiophorus in 1426, contains Herodotus' *History*, part of a *Lexicon Herodoteum*, together with Theophrastus' *Characters* and letters by Manuel Moscholpoulos.[312] Cod. *Ambrosianus* E 11 inf., copied in the same period, contains Xenophon's *Kyrou Paideia* and Arrianus' *Anabasis*.[313] Both *Ambrosiani* manuscripts were owned by Manuel Sophianus.[314] Cod. *Matritensis* 4561, copied by three unidentified scribes in 1427, contains Thucydides' *History* and Xenophon's *Hellenica*.[315] Excerpts from Thucydides and Plutarch have been preserved in cod. *Basileensis* 297, datable to the fifteenth century.[316]

With regard to Procopius, there is strong evidence to suggest that his works were studied in that period for the same purposes, namely for private study and teaching. For the purpose of our study, we have already mentioned above codices which contain the second tetras of *Wars* or parts of it: *Ambrosianus* A182 sup. (**a**) of the fourteenth/fifteenth century, *Parisini* graeci 1703 (**b**) and 1310 (**h**) of the fifteenth century, *Ambrosiani* A52-55 sup. (**c**), *Basileensis gr.* D IV 6 (**k**), *Monacensis gr.* 87 (**n**), *Salamantinus* 2750 (**γ**), *Scorialensis* Y. I. 13 (**δ**) and *Vaticanus Reginensis graecus* 84 (**r**) of the sixteenth century; some of them were copied by well-known professional scribes (**a**, **k**, **γ**, **c**) and some belonged to prominent scholars of the time (**h**). Other codices preserving the complete text or parts of Procopius' *Wars*, *Buildings* and *Secret History* have survived from that period. Codex *Parisinus gr.* 2022 of the fourteenth century,[317] bearing an

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[310] See description of this codex in Bandini, *Codices Bibliothecae Laurentianae*, vol. 1, col. 638.

[311] P. F. Cavalieri, *Codices graeci Chisiani et Borgiani* (Rome, 1927), no. 33, p. 71-72. Cf. Cataldi – Palau, "Manoscritti Giovanni di Ragusa", p. 24.

[312] For a description of this manuscript, see Martini-Bassi, *Catalogus Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, p. 202, no. 186. Cf. Cataldi – Palau, "Manoscritti di Giovanni di Ragusa", p. 24.

[313] The codex is described in Martini-Bassi, *Catalogus Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, p. 1082, no. 1012. Cf. Cataldi – Palau, "Manoscritti di Giovanni di Ragusa", p. 38.

[314] Manuel Sophianos lived in Constantinople (Petra) during the fifteenth century and he possessed numerous Greek manuscripts, which were donated to the Bibliotheca Ambrosiana in 1606, see Cataldi – Palau, "Manoscritti di Giovanni di Ragusa", pp. 20-21

[315] A description of this codex in G. De Andres, *Catalogo de los codices griegos de la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid, 1987), pp. 33-35.

[316] See description of this manuscript in Omont, *Manuscripts grecs des Bibliothèques de Suisse*, Bern, no. 103, p. 39.

[317] Lameere, *Tradition*, p. 66. See description of this codex in H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1888), vol. II, p. 180.

autograph note by Angelos Vergikios (ca. 1500-1569),[318] comprises some unspecified excerpts from speeches by Procopius (f. 83v), along with Aristotle's *Topica* and letters by Libanius, Synesius, Gregory Nazianzenus, John Glycas and George of Cyprus. Similarly, codex *Scorialensis* I.Z.1,[319] datable to the fifteenth century and recorded to have been lost in a fire in 1671, was an epistolarium, comprising some excerpts by Procopius (ff. 49-53), along with letters by Heraklitos, Iamblichos, Diodorus Siculus, Nicolas Lampenos, Emperor Julian, Nicolas Secundinos, George of Cyprus, George Gemistos, Bessarion, Manuel Moschopoulos, Mathaios Kamariotes, Demetrios Kydones, George Scholarios, Mark of Ephesos, Maximos Planudes and others.[320] *Laurentianus* 9.32, which belongs to the fourteenth century, comprises fragments from Procopius' *Buildings*, as well as excerpts from *Wars*, Books II-VIII, together with Arrianus' *De expeditione Alexandri* and *Historia Indica*.[321] Excerpts from Procopius' *Buildings* are also preserved in the two fifteenth-century codices *Basileensis* 43[322] and *Laurentianus* 70.5. The latter codex contains also a collection of historiographical texts, including Evagrius' *History*, Appian's *Italian History*, Paianius, Memnon Historicus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Roman Archaeology*.[323] The *Prooemium* of Procopius' *Wars* survives in a later fifteenth/sixteenth-century codex, *Ambrosianus* P270 sup. (f. 94), which includes also works by Hesiod.[324] Important evidence about the critical study of Procopius' works is provided by *Vaticanus gr.* 16,[325] which contains the *Secret History*. This codex contains the marginal note ξένον against chapter XVIII, 3-9 of the edited text by a fifteenth-century hand, possibly marking an interpolation.[326] In the period that followed, as has already been mentioned,[327] Leonardus Aretinus Brutus (1441) and Christophorus Persona

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[318] F. 1r: ἐν τῷδε ἐστὶ ταῦτα / ἀριστοτέλους τοπικῶν βιβλία η' / συνεσίου ἐπιστολαί / λιβανίου ἐπιστολαί τινες.

[319] See Lameere, *Tradition*, p. 53f., n.1, now M.I.2, see G. de Andres, *Catalogo de los codices griegos desaparecidos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial* (Escorial, 1968), no. 605, pp. 279-280.

[320] De Andres, *Codices griegos desaparecidos de El Escorial*, p. 279 notes: "Procopii ex eiusdem histories ut videtur collectae epistolae Iustiniani imp., Belisarii sex ad diversos, Ioannis ducis Iustiniani, Martini, Vitigis Regis Gothorum, Tylae Myrrhani inter se permixtae et in f. 51 in fine earum est narratio Procopii de Belisario".

[321] Bandini, *Codices Bibliothecae Laurentianae*, vol. 1, cols 442-444.

[322] Omont, *Manuscripts grecs des Bibliothèques de Suisse*, Geneve, no. 161, p. 55.

[323] Bandini, *Catalogus Bibliothecae Laurentianae*, vol. 1, cols 659-665.

[324] Martini-Bassi, *Catalogus Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, p. 733-736, no. 655.

[325] For a description of the manuscript, see I. Mercati – P. F. Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani Graeci* (Rome, 1923), vol. I, pp. 14-16.

[326] Ed. and trans. H.B. Dewing, *Procopius, The Anecdota or Secret History* (Loeb: London-Cambridge, MA, 1954), pp. 212, §3 – 214, §9 with no indication of this note, which was brought to my attention by Dr. Ch. Dendrinos.

[327] See Introduction, pp. 1-8.

(1481) translated Procopius' *Gothic Wars* into Latin, though they do not mention their manuscript sources.

Later manuscripts with sections of Procopius' works include five codices copied by Andreas Darmarios, who also copied codices *Ambrosiani* A52-55 sup. (c) (see above, pp. 136-7): *Ambrosiani* C 118 sup. and 121 sup., which contain part of Procopius' *Secret History*;[328] *Scorialenses* R.III.13 and R.III.14 with excerpts from Procopius' *Wars*, together with fragments from Thucydides, Herodotus of Halicarnassus, Diodorus Sikeliotes, Agathias, Theophylact Simocatta, Menander Protector and Appian;[329] and *Ambrosianus* N 135 sup., copied in August 1574, with fragments of Procopius' *Wars* (f. 490r) together with excerpts from Polybius, Zosimus, Diodorus Siculus, Herodotus, Thucydides, Agathias and Theophylact Simocatta.[330]

It seems that codex **Ath** was a product of the same milieu of Palaeologan scribes, scholars and teachers, though it is impossible to determine in which specific circle it was produced. The annotation of the text in the manuscript and especially the marginal note on f. 73r: ὡραῖα ταῦτα τοῦ προκοπίου. ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ χρήσιμα, which reflects an appreciation of Procopius' language and style as well as the moral value of his historical narrative (see above, pp. 12-14), point to the same intention, namely to instruct students and/or study the historical text for one's own pleasure and benefit. The interest in and familiarity of the scribes with classical historiography is reflected by the two marginal notes with reference to Procopius' similarity with Thucydides' method and style (ff. 39v: Θουκυδίδου τὸ εἶδος τούτο τῆς φράσεως, and 43v: Θουκυδίδου τὸ ἔθος). The same values for the production of Procopius' text, namely pleasure and benefit, and the interest in the classical language and style, are demonstrated in the prefatory letter of *Salamantinus* 2750 by Antonios Kalosynas (see below, Appendix I, pp. 172-3) as well as by Joseph Rhakendytes in his *Rhetorics*, as mentioned above.

The admiration of Palaeologan scholars for the achievements of the classical past, which they inherited from their immediate predecessors,[331] was combined with a new element, the emergence of an awareness of their

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[328] Martini-Bassi, *Catalogus Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, p. 223-224, no. 208 and p. 225, no. 211.

[329] P. A. Revilla, *Catalogo de los codices griegos de la Biblioteca de El Escorial* (Madrid, 1936), vol. 1, nos 47 and 48, pp. 175-180.

[330] Martini-Bassi, *Catalogus Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, p. 660-661, no. 552.

[331] Cf. H. Hunger, "On the imitation (mimesis)of antiquity in Byzantine literature" *DOP* 23/24 (1969/70), 16-38. Idem., "The reconstruction and conception of past in literature", *Seventeenth International Byzantine Congress*, (Washington, 1986), pp. 507-522.

Hellenic national identity, which gradually appeared in their own works. This awareness was re-enforced by the bitter experience of the Latin conquest. Rather than looking at their immediate past, the Byzantines preferred to remind themselves of the glorious years of the Empire under distinguished emperors, such as Justinian.

It is essentially to the scholars and scribes of this last phase in Byzantine history that we owe the survival of the treasures of the classical scholarship and literature in the period that followed the fall of the Empire, and indeed to our days.

CONCLUSION

ὡραῖα ταῦτα τοῦ προκοπίου. ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ χρήσιμα
(*Athos, Lavra* H-73, f. 73r)

Codex *Athos, Lavra* H-73 (**Ath**), datable to the late thirteenth century, is probably the earliest surviving manuscript transmitting Procopius' *Wars*, Books V-VIII. It is possible that this codex was part of a collection of manuscripts, now lost, containing the complete work. On the basis of textual evidence, it is clear that though, due to numerous minor errors and slips of the pen, it represents an inferior tradition in comparison with *Laurentianus* 69,8 (**L**), the second earlier witness of family **y**, **Ath** is important for two reasons. First, **Ath** contains a number of readings that confirm corrections and emendations by modern editors, and offer some new defensible readings, which improve the text in certain unclear passages. Secondly, **Ath**, unknown to Haury, sheds light on the reconstruction of the *stemma codicum* of this section of the work in family **y**, as it is related closely with the later extant codices **k**, **c**, **γ**, **b** and **r** dated to the fifteenth and sixteenth century through an intermediary tradition. In the light of these observations the stemma of Books V-VIII has been revised (above, p. 148).

More specifically, though the new evidence confirms Haury's suggestions concerning the close relation between **c** and **k**, and **r** and **b**, it differs regarding the possible relations between **Ath**, **L**, **b**, **γ**, **δ** and **n** within family **y**. The proposed relationship of these manuscripts vis-à-vis Haury's stemma is summarised as follows:

1) **Ath** and **L**, though sharing the same tradition (**y**), are linked through intermediary copies.
2) **Ath**, **L**, **b**, **k** and **γ** most probably share an intermediary tradition (**ω**), which contained marginalia of **L** and readings of both **L** and **Ath**.
3) Haury suggested with some reservation that **γ** is an *apograph* of **L**. An examination of **γ** shows that it derived from an intermediary lost tradition and has a common exemplar with **k**.
4) Haury's suggestion that **b** and **γ** derive directly from **L** should be abandoned, for **b** and **γ** share a number of different readings from **L**.
5) Contrary to Haury's suggestion, **n** derives directly from **a**, and not from **γ**.
6) **δ**, which was not examined by Haury, derives directly from **n**.

7) **γ** derived from a common exemplar with **k**, and not with **n**, as Haury suggested. For, **γ** and **k** seem to have been copied by the same scribe, or at least in the same scriptorium, and share a considerable number of readings.

In conclusion, it appears that **Ath** is an important manuscript in the transmission of Procopius' *Wars* V-VIII. Its production and annotation in the late thirteenth century Byzantium reflects the interest of scholars in early Byzantine historiographical works confirmed by other historical manuscripts dated to the same era.

APPENDICES

Appendix I: Codex *Salamantinus* 2750, ff. 1r-2v

Antonios Calosynas' Prefatory Letter
(Toledo, 17 May 1574)

Τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ ἀρχιερεῖ καὶ πρωτοστάτῃ[332] τε τοῦ μέγα δυναμένου βασιλέως Φιλίππου, ὁ σὸς θεράπων Ἀντώνιος ἰατρὸς φυσικός.

Τοὺς παρεληληθότας χρόνους, εἰς τὴν τοῦ Τριδέντου οἰκουμενικὴν σύνοδον, μετὰ πάσης σπουδῆς καὶ εὐγνωμοσύνης τὰ τῶν ἁγίων παλαιότατα βιβλία ἀνακαινίζειν σε καὶ ἐπανορθώειν, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅστις ἂν εἴη ἔξαρνος οἶμαι, πολυμαθέστατε πρωτοστάτα· καὶ τήνδε τὴν πρόνοιαν ποιούμενος πολλὰ τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ συγγραφέων καλλιγραφησάντων, μεγάλοις ἀναλώμασι καὶ δαπάνοις ὑμετέροις ἀνέσωσας. Ὡς ἐμαυτῷ ἐνθυμησάμενος, καὶ κατὰ νοῦν ἀναπολήσας τὴν προθυμίαν τὴν ὑμετέραν πρὸς τὰ τῶν διδασκάλων συγγράμματα, τόνδε τὸν Προκόπιον, ὃν κατά τινα τύχην εὑρών, σοὶ πορίζειν ἠξίωσα· θαυμάσας δὲ τῆς φράσεως καλλιλογίας ἀμωσγέπως καὶ τῆς ἀττικωτάτου διαλέκτου, ἄγεσθαί μου ἐπέρχεται αὖθις ἐρωτομανῶς ἀνακυκλών τινος ἕνεκεν οὗτος ὁ ἱστορικός, οὔπω τοῖς φιλέλλησιν προεξενήθη· καίπερ πολλῶν ἂν χρημάτων τοῦτον ἀνταλλάξαιτό τις τῶν σοφῶν εὖ οἶδα, διὰ τὸ τοῦ Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ νομοθέτου, καὶ τῶν Γότθων ἀξιοπρεπέστατον ὄνομα, ἐξ ὧν οἱ τῶν Ἱσπανῶν ἀρχαῖοι βασιλεῖς γενεαλογοῦνται. Οὐ μόνον δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ κέρδος τιμαλφέστατον φιλεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις βιβλίοις ἐνίοτε· οὐκοῦν λάμβανε τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα, ἀσπασία μοι κεφαλή, ὅ ὁ πάλαι σοι προφιλὴς καὶ δεδοκιμασμένος, καὶ ἡμιόλος Ἀντώνιος προξενίζει και διατελεῖ ἡμᾶς

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4 εὐγνομοσύνης, γ || 5 βιβλία, γ || 6 οἶμαι γ | προτοστάτα γ | τὴν δὲ τὴν γ || 10 ὑμετέραν, γ | τὸν δὲ γ || 13 ἀτικωτάτου γ | αὖθις sscr. γ | ἐροτομανῶς γ || 15 προεξενίθη γ | τὶς γ || 14 φιλ' ἔλλησιν γ || 16 νομοθέτου, γ || 18 γεναιαλογοῦνται γ || 19 οὐκοὺν γ || 20 ἐπιτήδευμα γ

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[332] It is possible that the "λαμπρότατος ἀρχιερεὺς" is Diego de Covarrubias, who was one of the persons that Calosynas was copying under their instructions.

στέργων· εὐμενείᾳ δὲ θεοῦ καὶ τὸν ἅγιον Κύριλλον εἰς τοὺς δώδεκα προφήτας μεταγράψομαι σοὶ βιβλίον πάνυ καλὸν καὶ τίμιον, καὶ οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ εἶμι σοὶ ἄξιον, ἀνδρὶ τὴν μὲν ἡλικίαν σεμνῷ, τὸν δὲ βίον σώφρονι, ἀρετῆς δὲ ἐν ἔργοις ἐμπείρῳ εἰς δημοφελείαν, βρύων ψυχικῶν ἀγαθῶν· ἐν σοὶ γὰρ ἡ εὐψυχία, ἡ φιλανθρωπία, ἡ ἐμπειρία, ἡ ἐγκράτεια, ὁμιλία εὐάρμοστος, ἀψευδὲς ἦθος, εὐστάθεια, ἐν βουλαῖς τάχος, καλλίστην ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν προαίρεσιν, ὥστε σοὶ ἁρμόζει τὸ τοῦ ἡμετέρου Γαληνοῦ ῥητὸν "οὐ μόνον ψυχρότητος καὶ θερμότητος ἐν τῷ μέσῳ καθέστηκε ὁ οὗτος ἔνσαρκος ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαπλάσεως ἀρίστης τετύχηκε". Ἴσως μὲν ἑπομένης τῆς τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων εὐκρασίας, τάχα δὲ τινὶ θειοτέραν ἀρχὴν ἑτέραν ἐχούσης ἄνωθεν.

Ἔρρωσο.
Εἰς Τολέτου $\alpha^{\omega}\phi^{\omega}\text{o}\delta^{\omega}$ Μαίου $\iota\zeta^{\tau}$.

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22 δώδεκας γ || 23 οὐ οὐδενὶ γ || 24 ἄλλω γ || 25 ἀγαθῶν. γ || 27 καλίστην γ || 28 παρξεσιν -ρά sccr. γ | ὡς τε γ || 29-30 ῥητὸν οὐ μόνον... τετύχηκε. || 31 ἑπομένης γ | εὐκρασία γ

Appendix II: Common and different readings[333] of Ath and L with later manuscripts

Ath	L	a	b	c	k	γ	δ	n	r
πραττε	εἰργάζετο	εἰργάζετο	εἰργάζετο	εἰργάζετο	εἰργάζετο	εἰργάζετο	εἰργάζετο	εἰργάζετο	εἰργάζετο
ήγγειλεν	ἐπήγγειλλεν	ἐπήγγειλλεν	ἐπήγγειλλεν	ἐπήγγειλεν	ἐπήγγειλεν	ἐπήγγειλεν	ἐπήγγειλλεν	ἐπήγγειλλεν	ἐπήγγειλλεν
εἴκοσι	εἴκοσιν	εἴκοσιν	εἴκοσιν	εἴκοσι	εἴκοσι	εἴκοσιν	εἴκοσιν	εἴκοσιν	εἴκοσιν
ορύβου	βόθρου	βόθρου	βόθρου	θορύβου	θορύβου	βόθρου	βόθρου	βόθρου	βόθρου
μήχανον	ἀμήχανα	ἀμήχανα	ἀμήχανα	ἀμήχανον	ἀμήχανον	ἀμήχανον		ἀμήχανα	
ἐπί	ἀπό	ἐπί	ἐπί	ἐπί	ἐπί	ἐπί	ἐπί	ἐπί	ἐπί
ιλάσσειν	διαλλάσσειν	διαλλάσσειν	διαλάσσειν	διαλάσσειν	διαλάσσειν	διαλάσσειν	διαλλάσσειν	διαλλάσσειν	
λευομένῳ	βουβουλευομένῳ	βουλευομένῳ	βουλευομένῳ	βουλευομένῳ	βουλευομένῳ	βουλομένῳ	βουλευομένῳ	βουλευομένῳ	
ζώων	ὄνων	ζώων	ζώων	ζώων	ζώων	ζώων	ζώων	ζώων	
εἴλκεν	ἑφείλκε	ἑφείλκε	εἵλκεν	ἀφείλκε	ἀφείλκε	ἑφείλκε		ἑφείλκε	
βαλοῦσιν	ἀποβαλλοῦσιν	ἀποβαλλοῦσιν	ἀποβαλοῦσιν	ἀποβαλοῦσιν	ἀποβαλοῦσιν	ἀποβαλοῦσιν		ἀποβαλλοῦσιν	
ισρέψονται	- ωνται	- ωνται	- ωνται	-ονται	-ονται	- ωνται	- ωνται	- ωνται	- ωνται
τείθοντο	ἐπύθοντο	ἐπύθοντο	ἐπύθοντο	ἐπείθοντο	ἐπείθοντο	ἐπύθοντο	ἐπύθοντο	ἐπύθοντο	ἐπύθοντο
ιύνασθαι	ἀμύνεσθαι	ἀμύνεσθαι	ἀμύνασθαι	ἀμύνασθαι	ἀμύνασθαι	ἀμύνεσθαι	ἀμύνεσθαι	ἀμύνεσθαι	ἀμύνασθαι
ιύνεσθαι	ἀμύνασθαι	ἀμύνασθαι	ἀμύνεσθαι	ἀμύνεσθαι	ἀμύνεσθαι	ἀμύνεσθαι	ἀμύνασθαι	ἀμύνασθαι	
αρίπτειν	ἀναρριπ[334]τεῖν	ἀναρριπτεῖν	ἀναρίπτειν	ἀναρίπτειν	ἀναρίπτειν	ἀναρίπτειν	ἀναρριπτεῖν	ἀναρριπτεῖν	
γένοντο	ἐγίνοντο	ἐγίνοντο	ἐγένοντο	ἐγένοντο	ἐγένοντο	ἐγένοντο		ἐγίνοντο	
ἐρήθη	ἐρρήθη	ἐρρήθη	ἐρρήθη	ἐρήθη	ἐρήθη	ἐρρήθη		ἐρρήθη	
ἰσχύν	σκευήν	σκευήν	παρασκευήν	σκευήν	σκευήν	σκευήν	σκευήν	σκευήν	παρασκευήν
εἶπε	ἔλεξε	ἔλεξε	ἔλεξε	ἔλεγεν	ἔλεγεν	ἔλεξε		ἔλεξε	
ήρ γυναικός	μνηστήρ γυναικός γεγονώς	μνηστήργυναικός γεγονώς	μνηστήργυναικός γεγονώς	μνηστήργυναικός γεγονώς	μνηστήργυναικός γεγονώς	μνηστήργυναικός γεγονώς		μνηστήργυναικός γεγονώς	
νόμενοι	γενομένοι	γενόμενοι	γενομένη	γενόμενοι	γενόμενοι	γενόμενοι	γενόμενοι	γενόμενοι	γενομένη

[333] The above readings have been selected, because they are common in Ath and in some of the later manuscripts and therefore they can indicate their relationships.

Appendix III

Marginal notes of manuscripts L, a, b, r and interlinear notes of c, k and γ

(Book V, 1 – VI, 14)[334]

	L	a	b[335]	r	c	k	γ
παράδοξον	(4r)	(2r)	(2v)	(2v)	-------	-------	-------
γραφὴ Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως προς Ἀμαλασούνθα	(8v)	(4r)	(4v)	(4v)	(18r)	(14r)	(16v)
ἀντίγραμμα	(8v)	(4r)	(4v)	(4v)	(18v)	(14v)	(17r)
ἀρχὴ τοῦ πολέμου	(10r)	(6r)	(6r)	(6v)	-------	(21r)	(23v)
ἐπιστολὴ βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ προς Φράγγους	-------	(6r)	(6v)	(7r)	(28v)	(22v)	(25r)
ἅλωση Σικελίας ὑπὸ Βελισαρίου	(11r)	(6v)	(7r)	(7r)	-------	(23r)	-------
ἐπιστολὴ Θευδάτου πρὸς βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν	(13v)	(7v)	(7v)	(8r)	(34v)	(26v)	(29v)
ἀντίγραμμα βασιλέως πρὸς αὐτὸν	(13r)	(7v)	(8r)	-------	(35v)	(27v)	(30v)
χρησμὸς	(14v)	(8r)	(8v)	(9r)	(38r)	(29v)	(32v)
τοῦ Θευδάτου πρὸς τοὺς πρέσβεις	(14r)	(8v)	(8v)	(9r)	(39v)	(29v)	(34r)
οἱ πρέσβεις πρὸς Θεύδατον	(14r)	(8v)	(9r)	(9r)	(40r)	(31r)	(34v)
γραφὴ βασιλέως πρὸς Γότθων τοὺς πρώτους	(15v)	(8v)	(9r)	(9v)	(41r)	(32r)	(35v)
πρέσβεις Νεαπολιτῶν πρὸς Βελισάριον	(16r)	(25v)	(10r)	(10v)	(45v)	(36r)	(39v)

[334] The list includes the notes of the manuscripts up to this point, because this point is the end of codex **r**.

[335] This list does not include the notes of **b**, which are possibly written by a later hand and hence show nothing about the relationships of the manuscripts.

βουλὴ ῥητόρων πρὸς Νεαπολίτας	(18v)	(26v)	(10v)	(11v)	(50r)	(39v)	(43r)
παραίνεσις Βελισαρίου πρὸς Νεαπολίτας	(20r)	(28r)	(12v)	(13r)	(58r)	(45v)	49r)
παραίνεσις Βελισαρίου πρὸς τὸν στρατὸν	(22r)	(29v)	(14r)	(14v)	(66r)	(51r)	(54v)
βουλὴ Ιουτίγιδος πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοῦ	(25v)	(31r)	(15r)	(16v)	(72r)	(56v)	(59r)
δημηγορία Θευδάτου πρὸς Γότθους	(30r)	(34r)	(18v)	(20r)	(89r)	(69r)	(71v)

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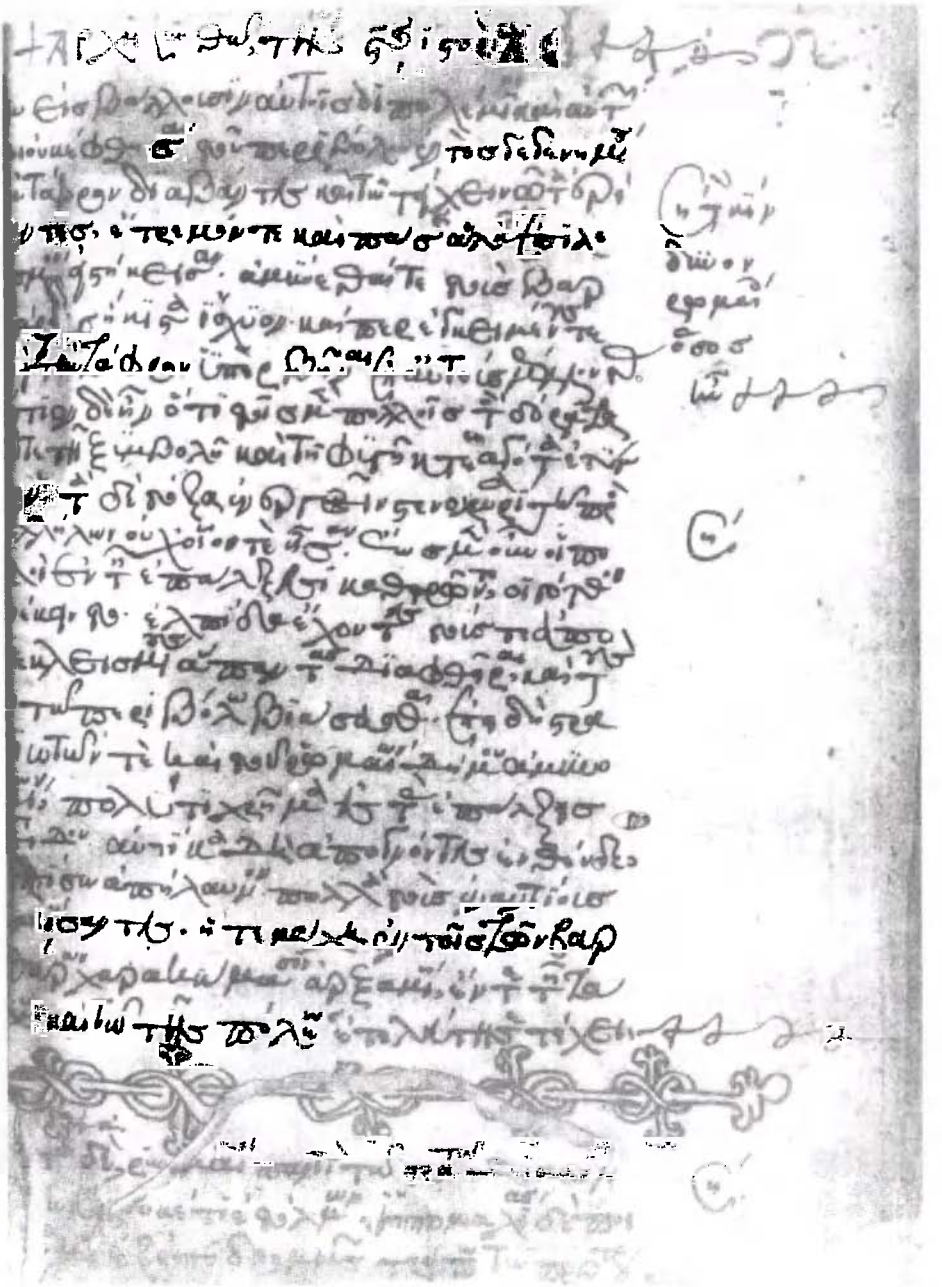

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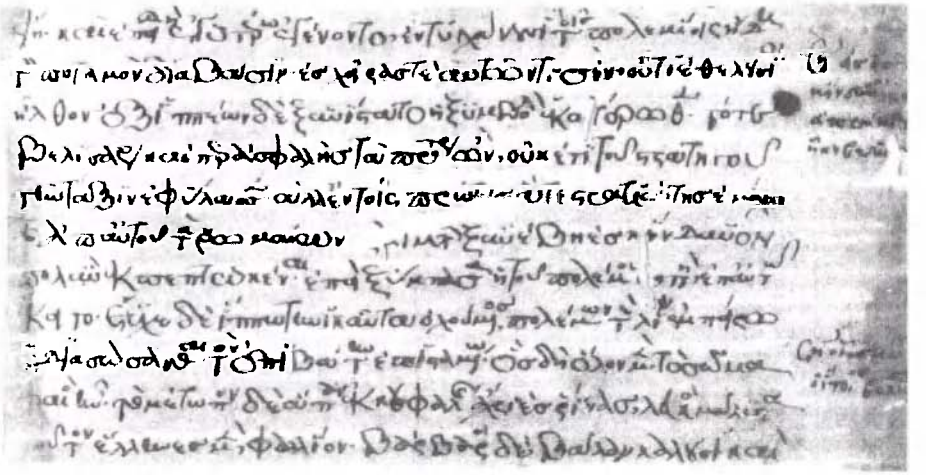

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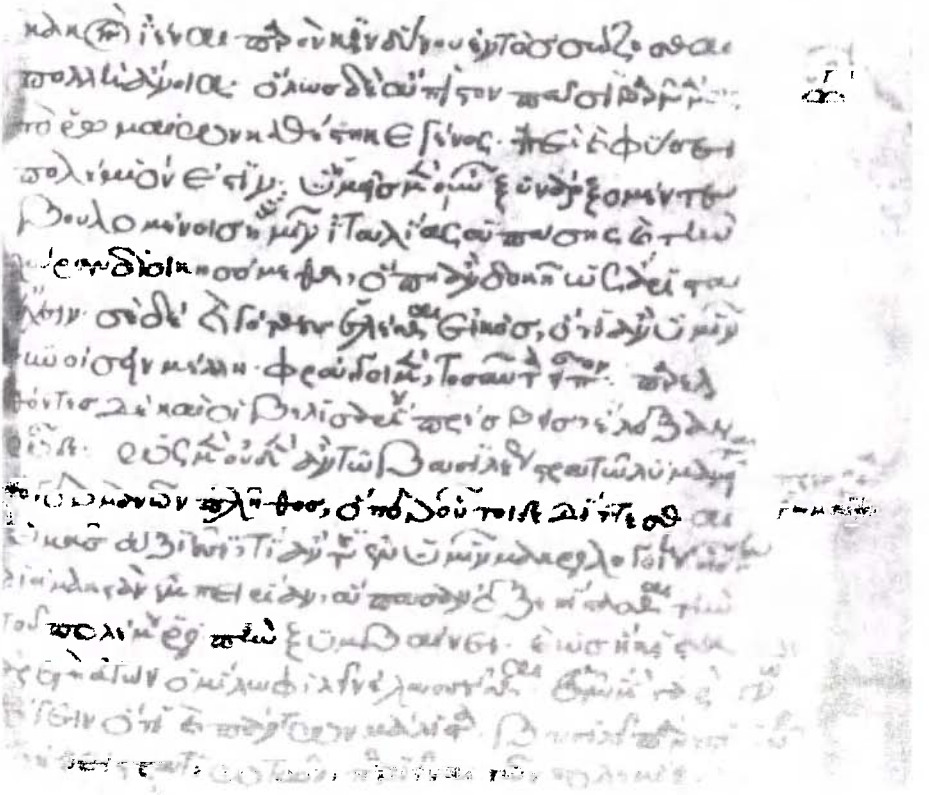

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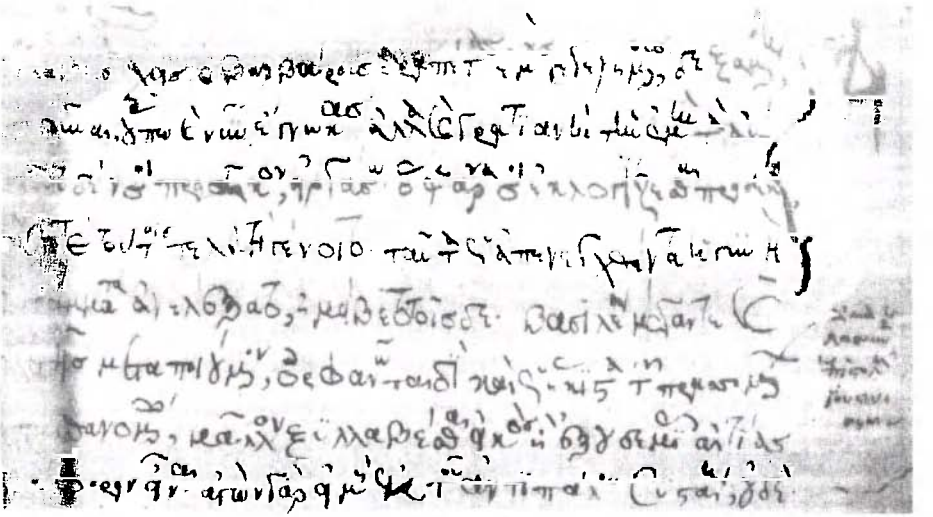

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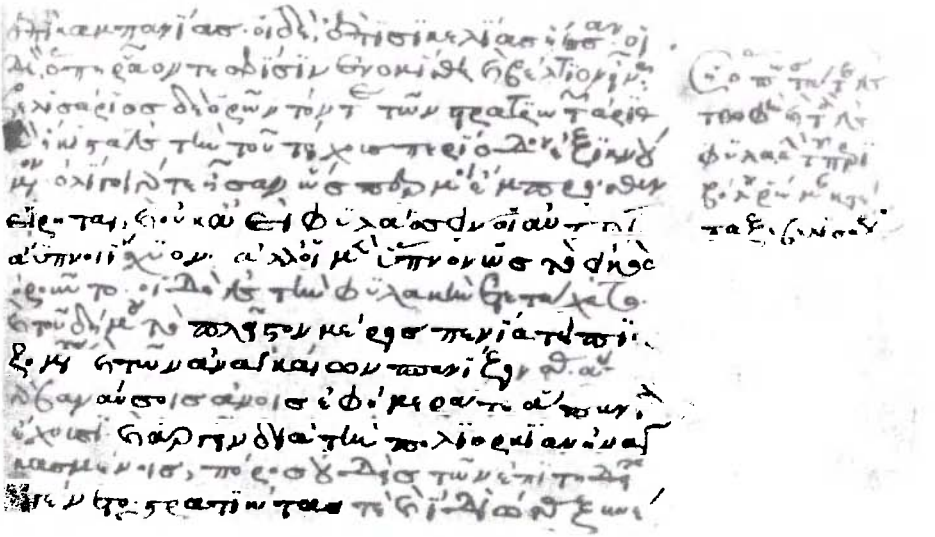

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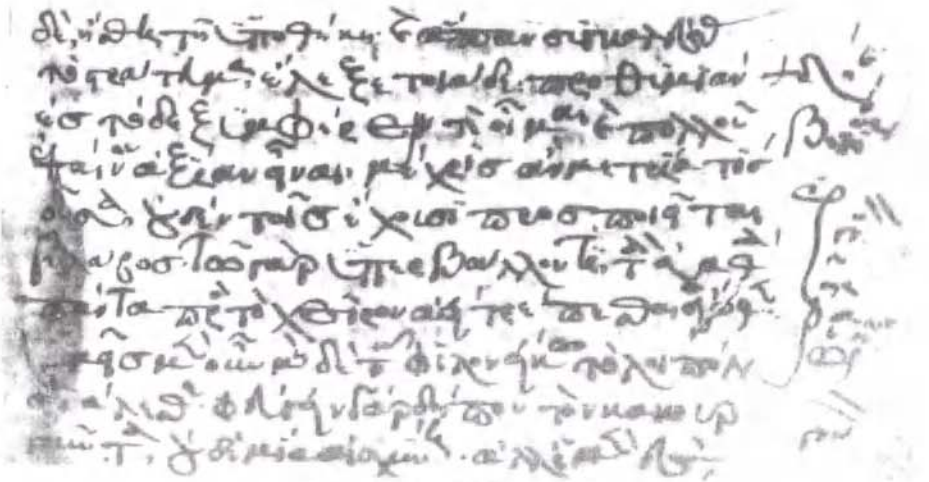

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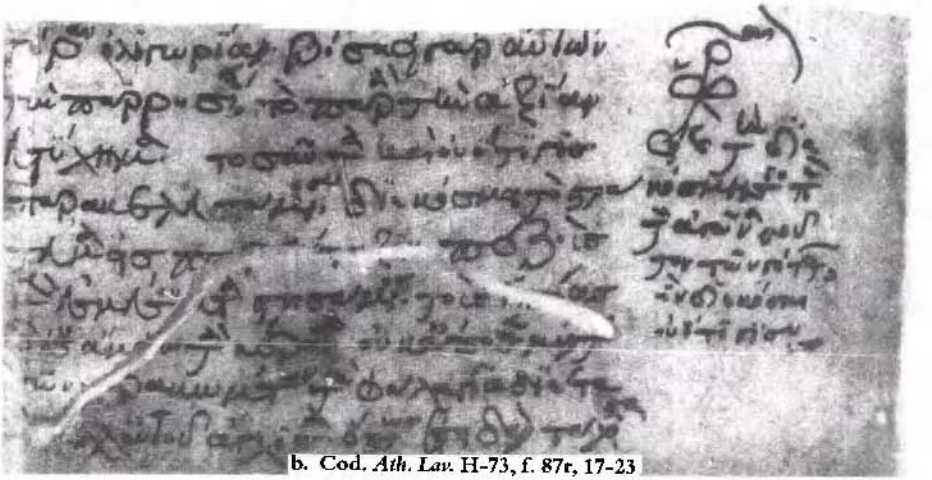

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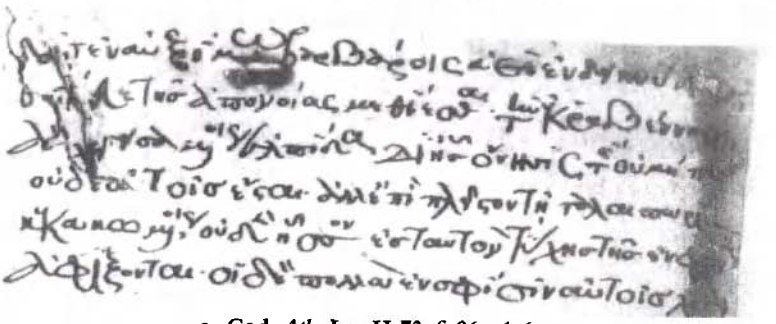

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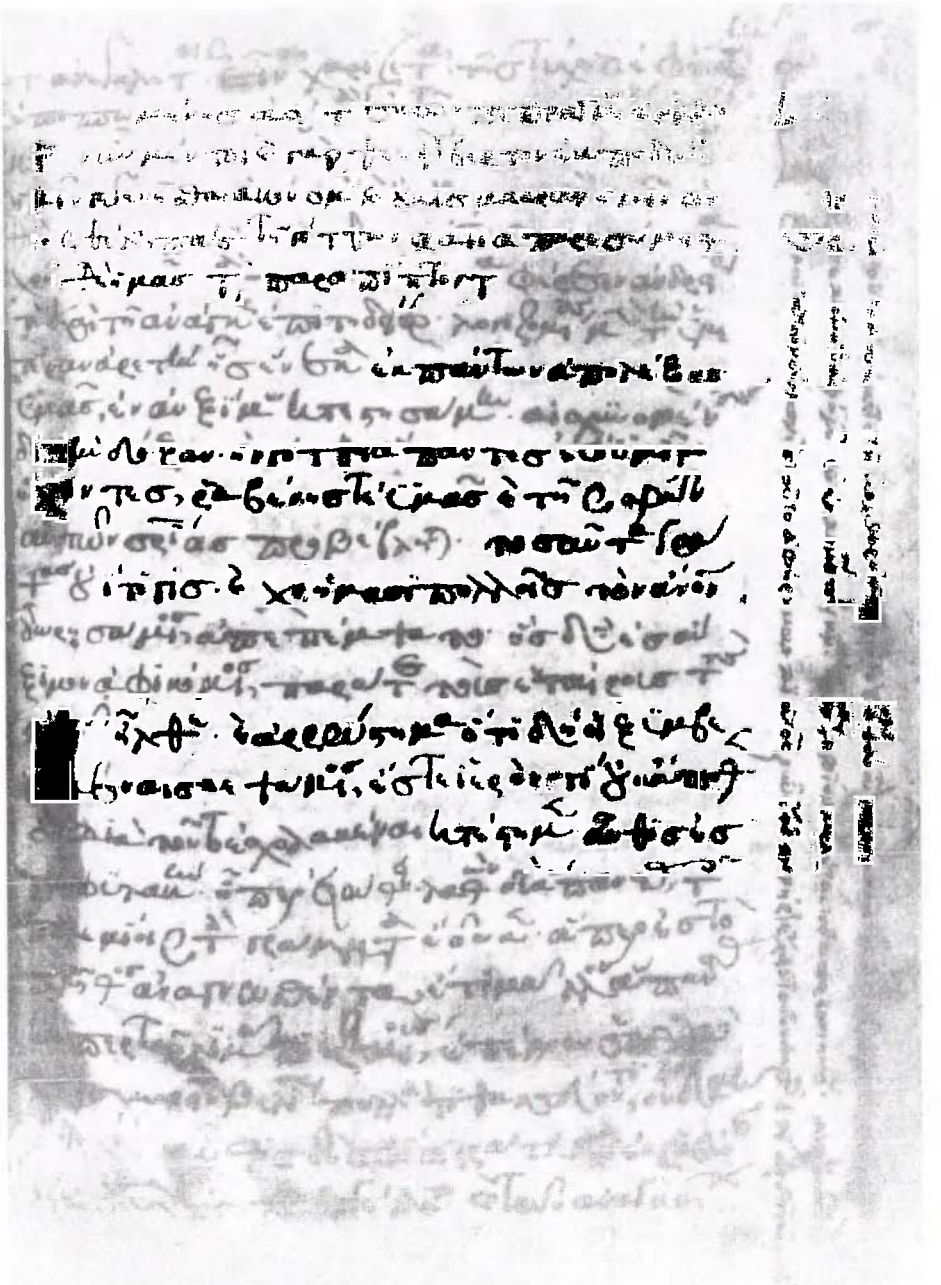

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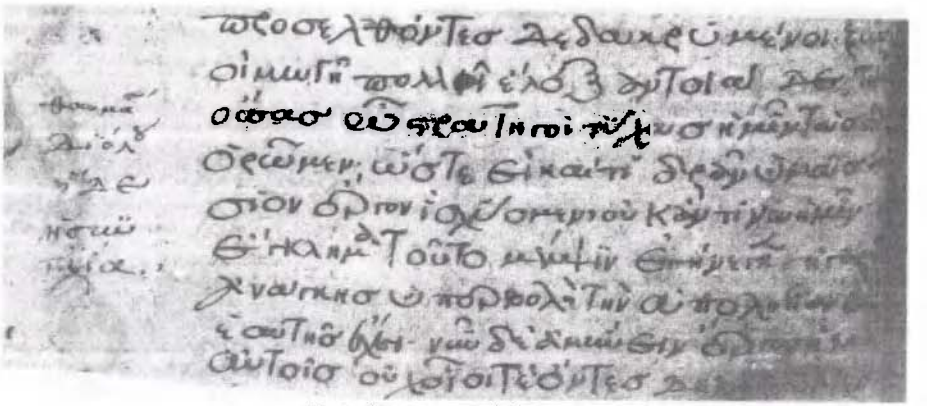

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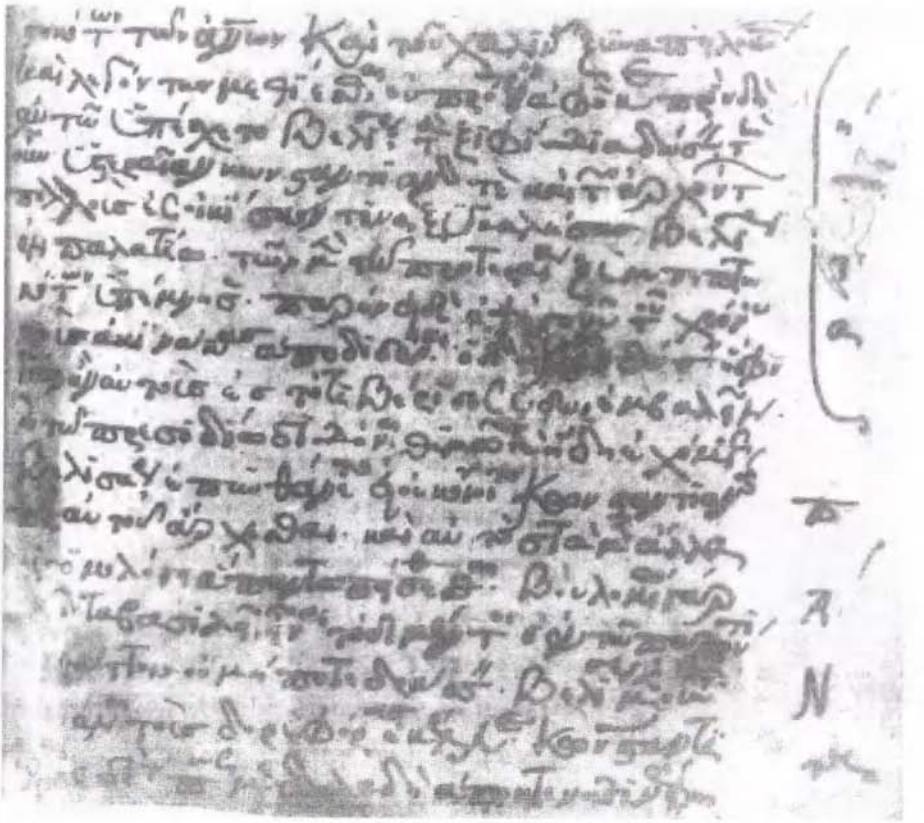

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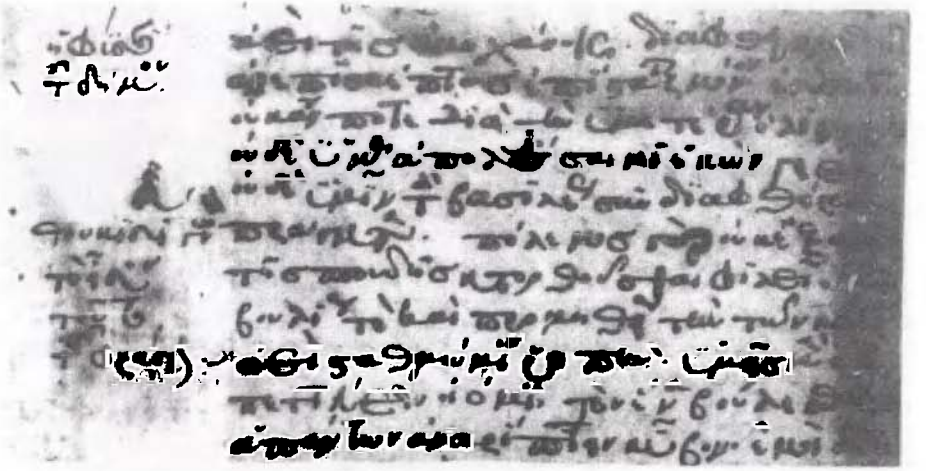

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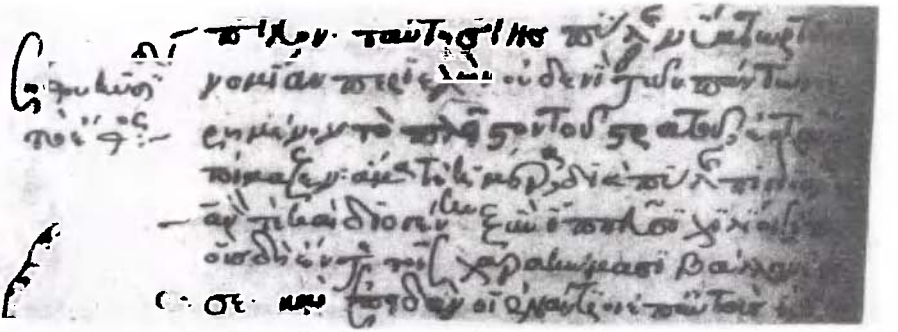

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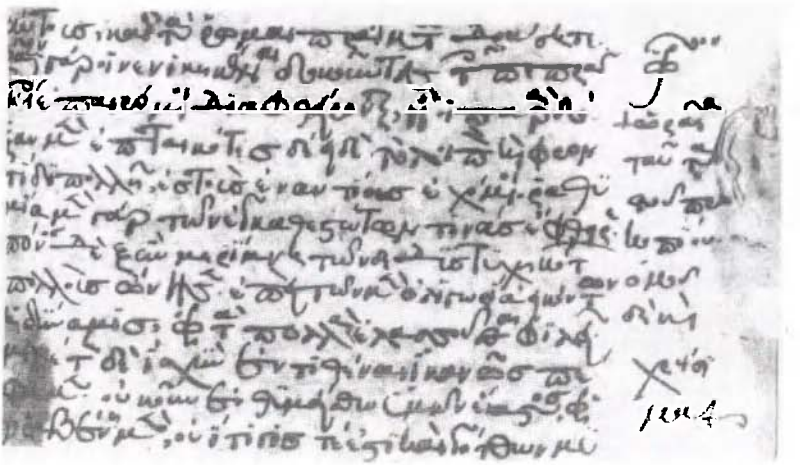

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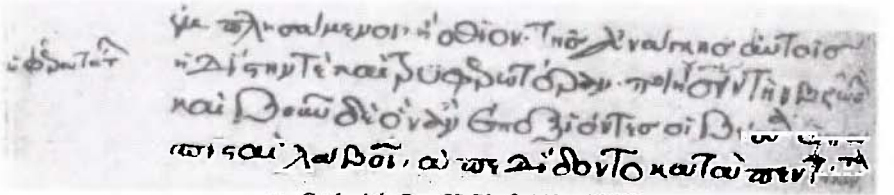

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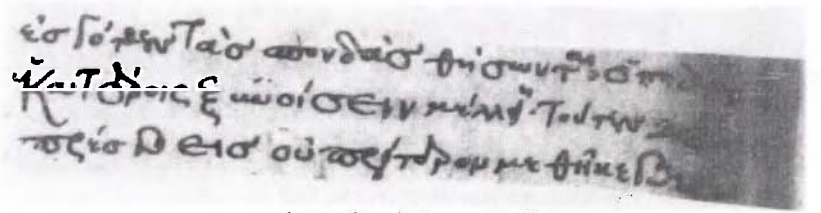

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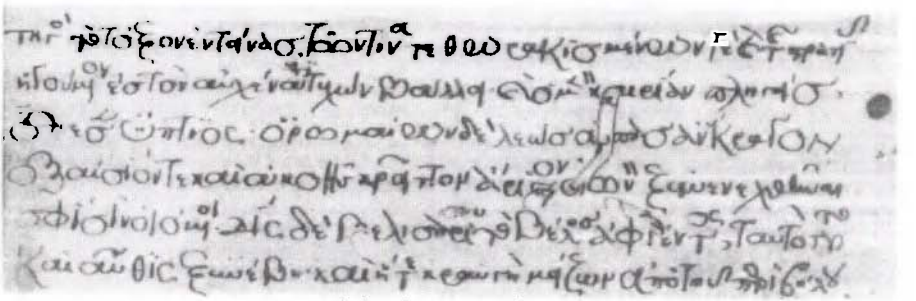

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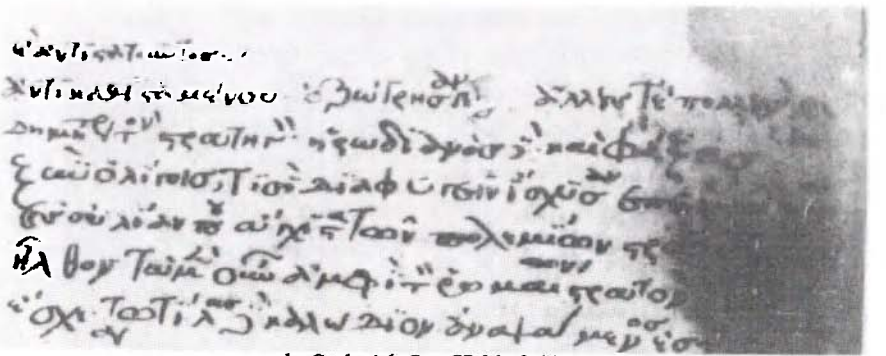

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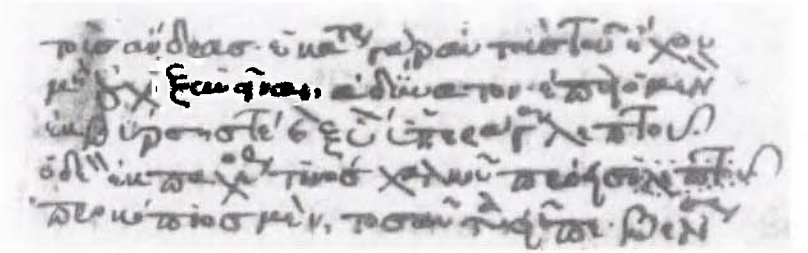

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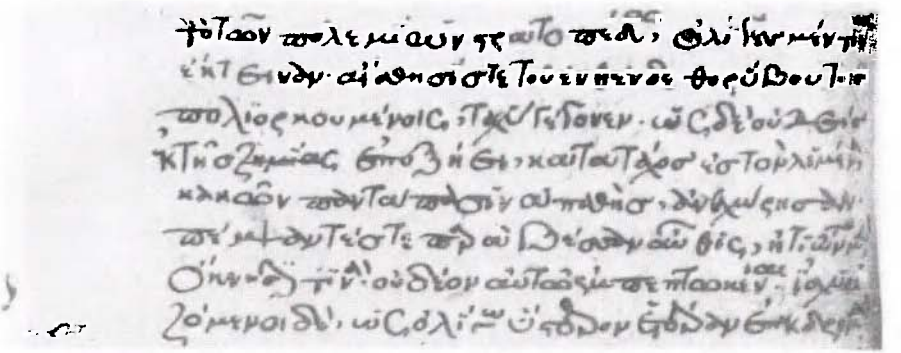

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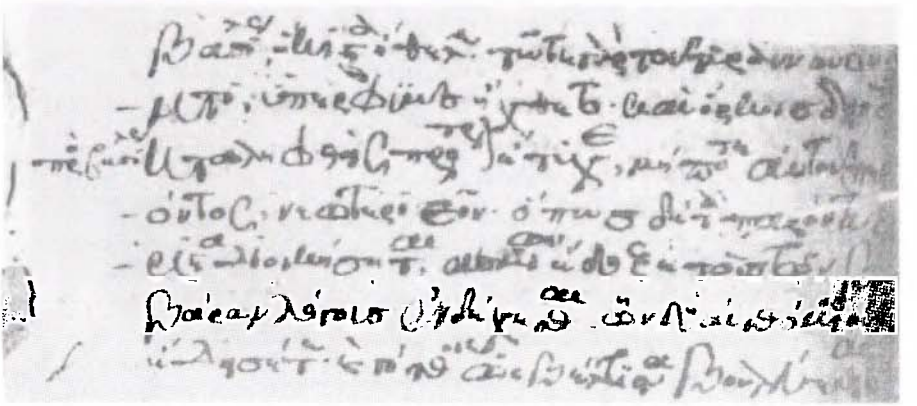

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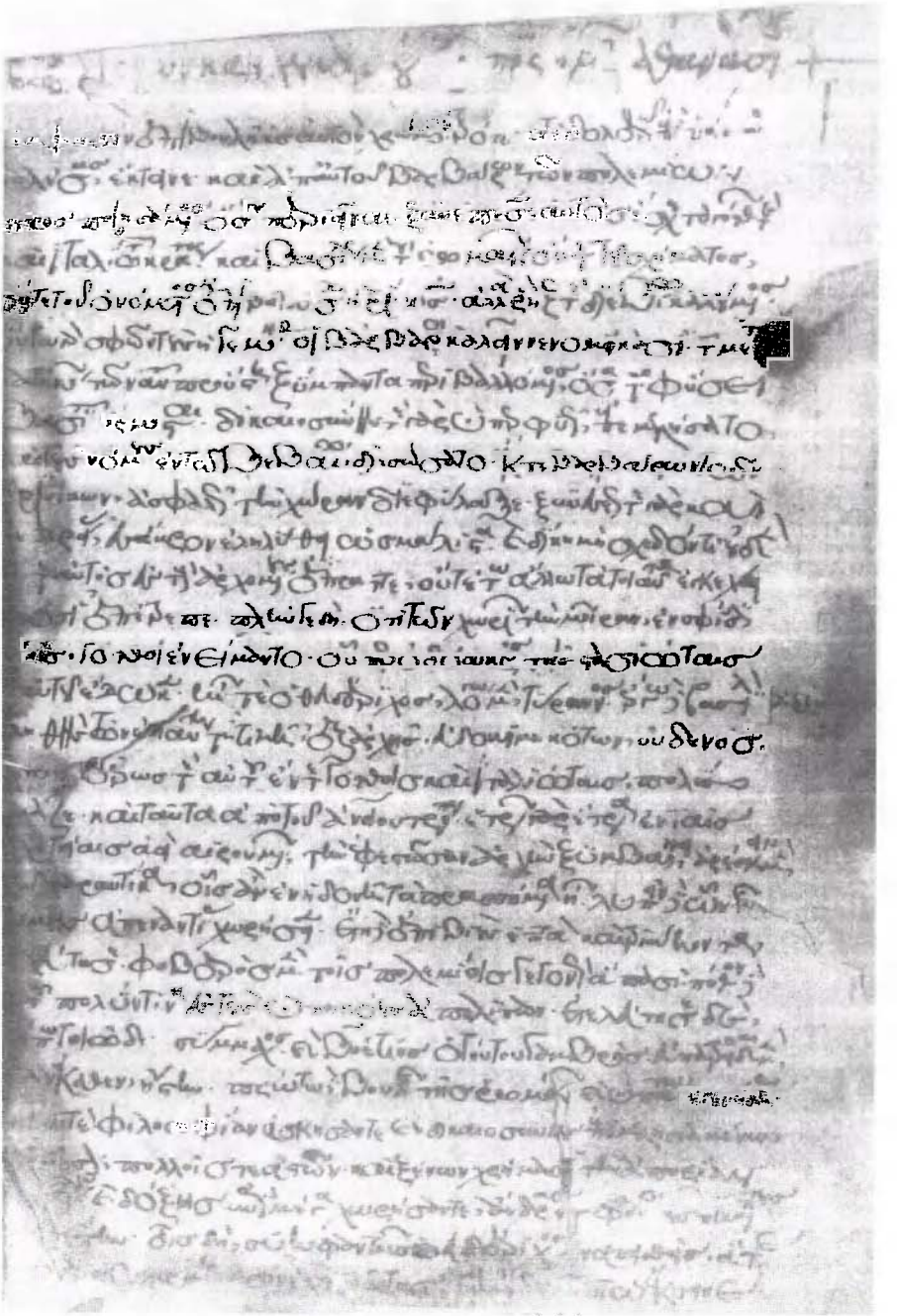

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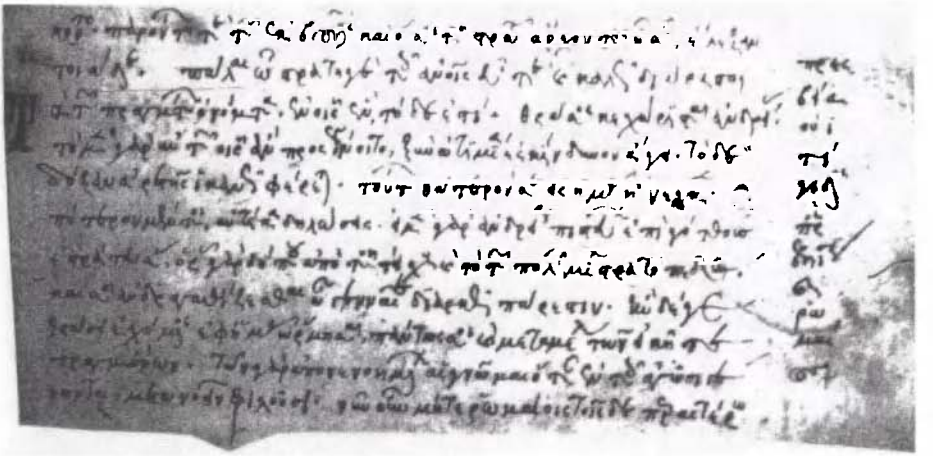

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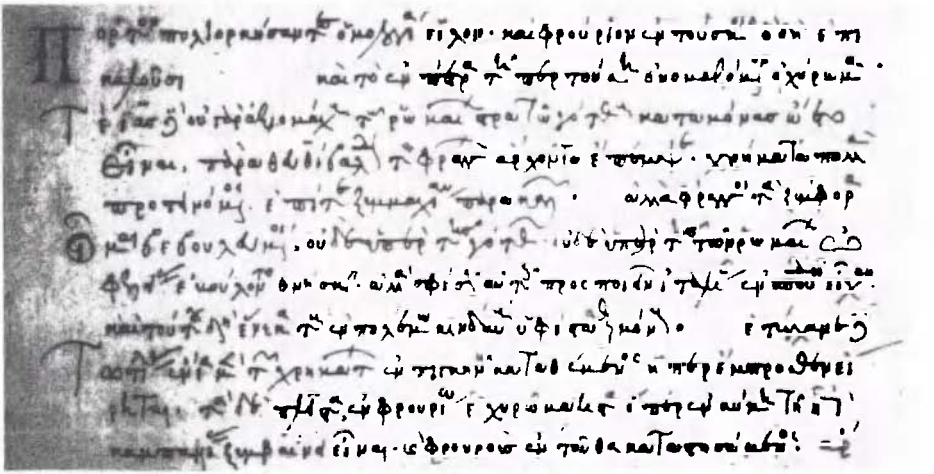

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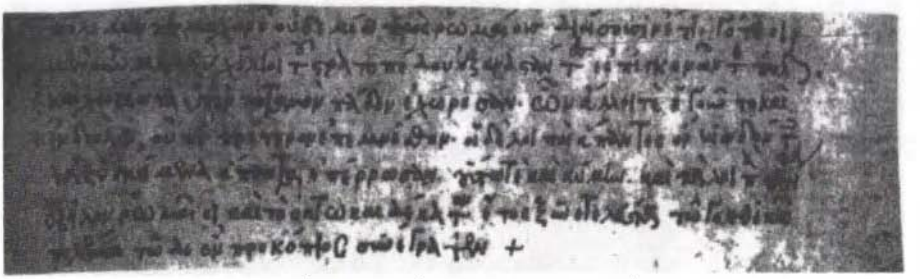

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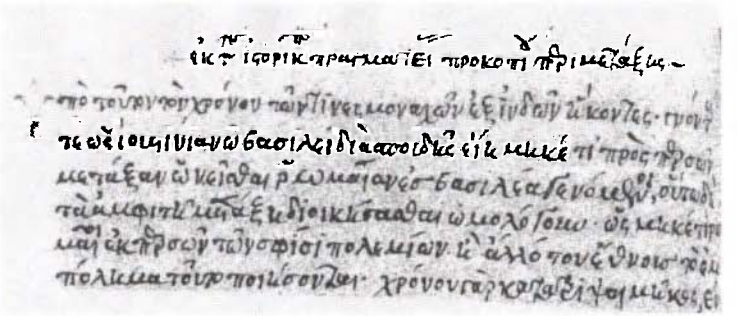

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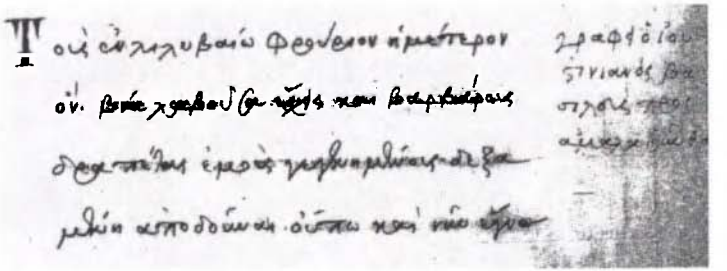

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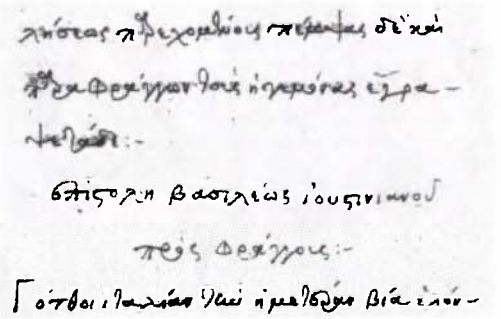

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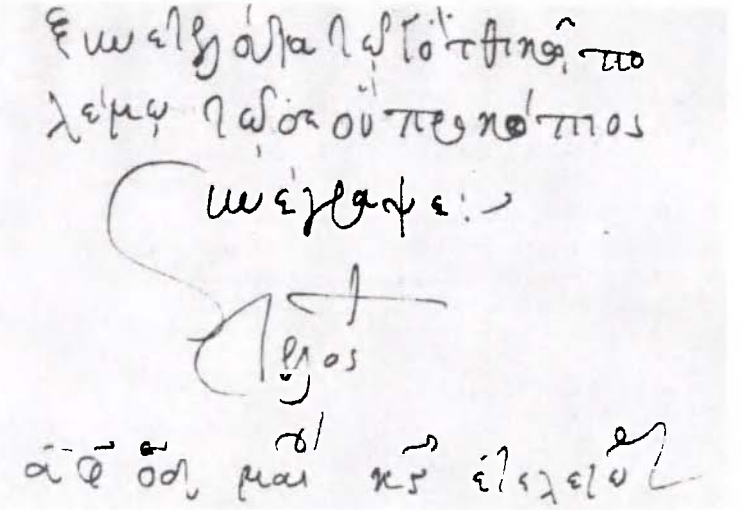

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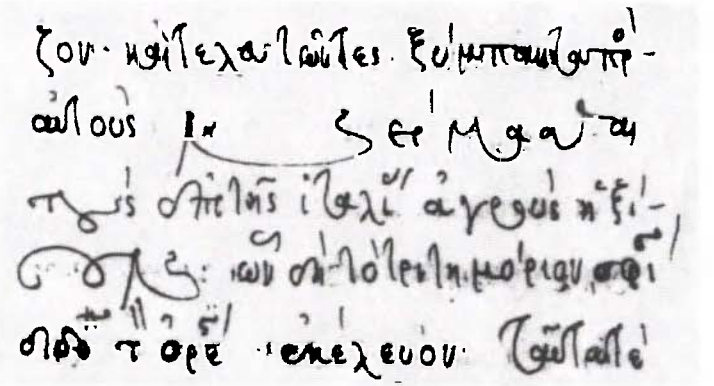

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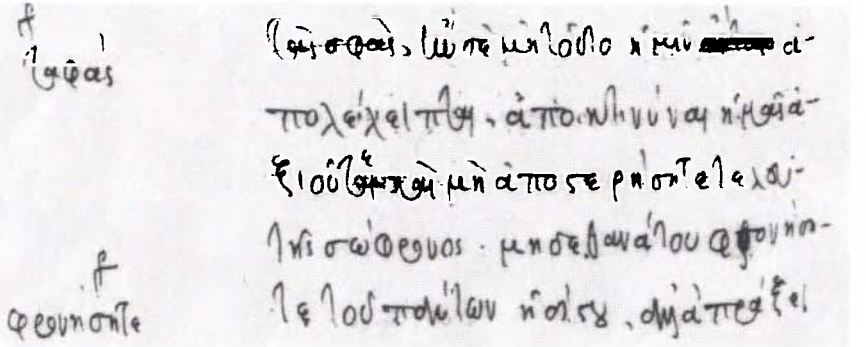

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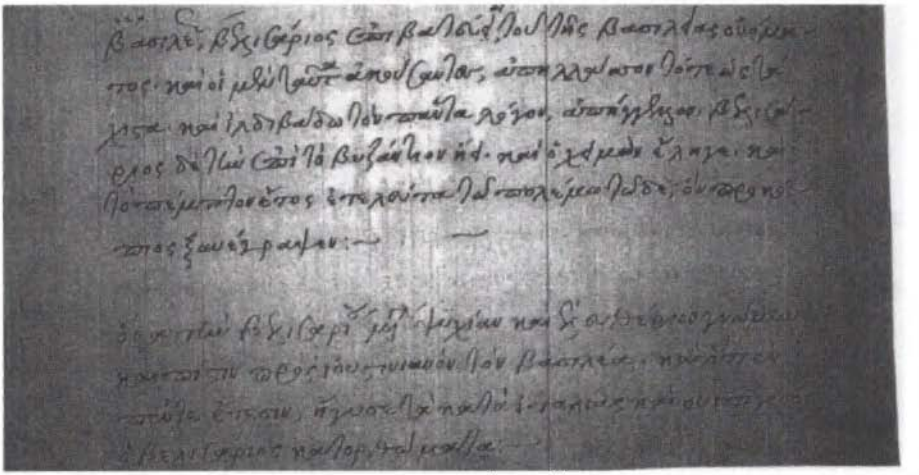

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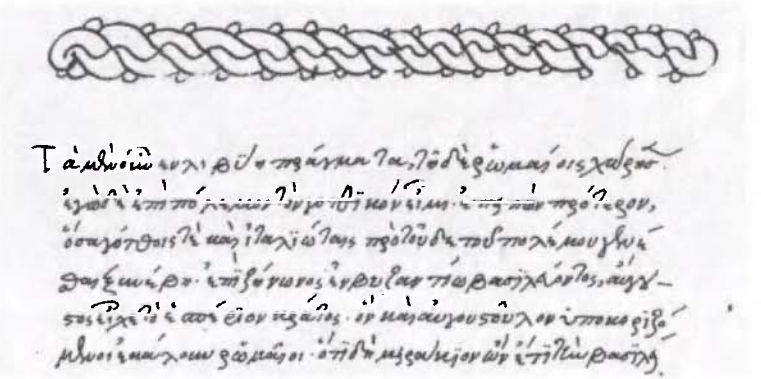

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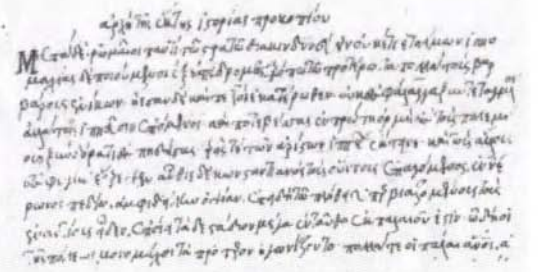

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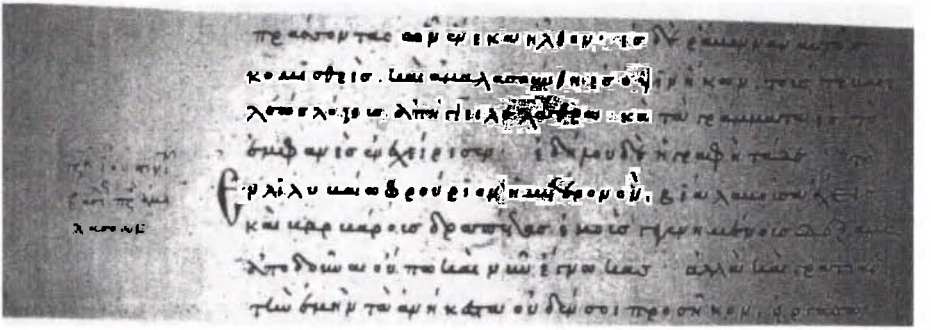

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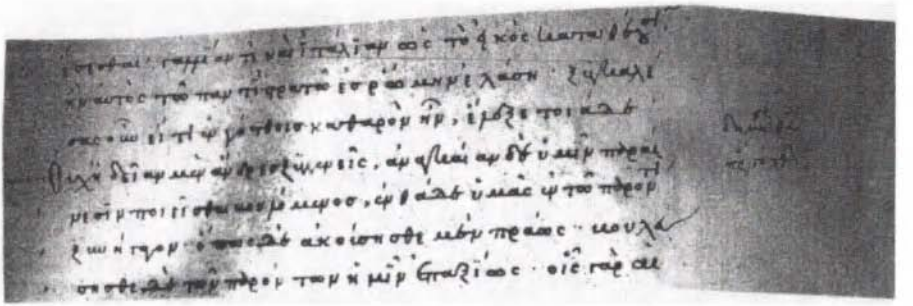

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PLATE XVI

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ISBN 978-3-598-77817-9
ISSN 1616-0452